

THE
Secret History
OF THE
C O U R T
Of the Emperor
JUSTINIAN.

WRITTEN
By *PROCOPIUS of Cesarea* ;
Faithfully rendred into *English*.

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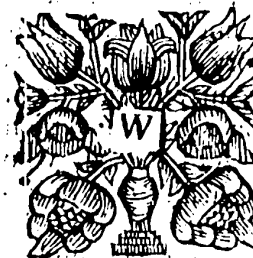
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THE
SECRET HISTORY
OF
PROCOPIUS.



That hapned in the *Roman* Empire, in its Wars with the Barbarous Nations, I suppose I have exactly described, and the order which I have observed, is so just, every Action and Accident is to be found with its proper, and due Circumstances, both of time and of place. In what I am now about, I do not hold my self bound to so strict a method, because the subject is of things which passed in several places of the *Roman* Empire at the same time. When I writ my first Histories, I thought it not expedient to be too particular, by reason the main Agents were then living; and I could not long have concealed, or secured

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my self against some ~~exemplary~~ punishment, if my Book should have been published; and I judged it very dangerous, to commit such a secret to any Friend whatsoever: So that in my first History of all, I was obliged to omit the Motives and Causes of such Actions and Events as I related there. Most people do easily, and without consideration, give themselves to imitate the Actions of their Ancestors, and do follow their ill examples, without any care or remorse: For my own part, nothing excited me so strongly to this work, as that such persons who are desirous to govern in an Arbitrary way, might discover, by the misfortune of those whom I mention, the destiny that attends them, and the just recompence they are to expect of their crimes. Besides, it is not impossible, but the fear of leaving the History of an infamous life behind them to posterity, may restrain them in some measure, and occasion a greater aversion to such detestable actions. And indeed, who would have abhorred the debauches of *Semiramis*, the effeminacy of *Sardanapalus*, and the cruelties of *Nero*, had not great Men undertaken the History of their times, and transmitted it to posterity. For the same reason I shall begin with the exorbitancies of *Belisarius*, after which, I shall represent the Impieties of *Theodora* and *Justinian*. *Antonina* began to lead her life with more dissoluteness and liberty, and to transgress publicly without any shame or regret. There was, at that time, in the Family of *Belisarius*, a young Thracian called *Theodosius*, whose

whose Relations being Eunomians; *Belisarius*, before his departure in *Africk*, caused him to be Baptised, and having held him at the Font himself, he and his wife, adopted him with all the Ceremony which the Christians used in their adoptions. From that time *Antonina* took all imaginable care of *Theodosius*, (which was but just, having made him her son) she cherished him exceedingly, and kept him constantly with her; but before their passage into *Africk*, she fell in love with him so desperately, and her passion was so uncontrollable, That she lost not only all Shame, but the sense of all Laws, both Humane and Divine. At first, indeed, she was bashful in her debaucheries, and all her assignations were with great caution and secrecy, but by degrees she began to commit them in publick, and before her women servants, not apprehending any opposition against her wantonness, after the vehemence of her love, transported her to caress him before all people. *Belisarius* himself found her faulty with his own eyes, not far from *Carthage*, but he was deluded again, and wheedled by his wife, and I think not unwillingly. The business was thus. He found them together in a private Vault, and the sight of them put him into a very great passion; but *Antonina* was so far from being out of countenance at the surprise, that she advanced to meet him, and told him, That *Theodosius* and she, were come thither to hide some of the richest things which they had taken from the Enemy; that the Emperor might never hear

what was become of them. With which sudden pretence, she excused her self to *Bellisarius*, who, good Man, was not hard to be perswaded (though he observed the point of *Theodosius* his Codpeece was untied;) but suffering himself to be deluded by the caresses of his wife, he chose rather to suspect the testimony of his own senses, then be obliged to have any difference with her.

In short, the exorbitancies of *Antonina* increasing daily, and the scandal of them growing hourly more publick all the servants and friends of *Bellisarius* beheld him with much trouble, but none of them had the courage to give him any advertisement. There was one Woman (called the *Macedonian*) only, who waited upon her in her Chamber, and had the boldness to give him notice. This *Macedonian*, after *Bellisarius* had conquered *Sicily*, and was Resident in *Syracuse*, came to him, and having drawn from him several great and indispensable oaths, That he would never discover to *Antonina*, what she should tell him; she told him the whole intrigue, and brought two of the Maids of her Chamber to attest it. *Bellisarius* being convinced of the disloyalty of his wife, commanded some of his Guards to stab *Theodosius*; but the young Gentleman having notice of their orders, got away, and escaped to *Ephesus*: For the instruments which *Bellisarius* employed, understanding his temper, and that he was naturally unconstant, thought it more wisdom to oblige his Lady with the discovery, then to trust their fortunes

fortunes upon the uncertainty of his favor. *Constantine*, who was one of the Lieutenant Generals to *Bellisarius*, seeing him much discomposed at the business, and pitying his misfortune, told him inconsiderately, That if the case had been his, he would have made an example rather of his wife, then *Theodosius*: Which expression being reported to *Antonina*, she locked up her resentment for some time in her Breast, that when she had opportunity she might revenge her self more effectually. For she was the person of the whole World, who knew how to dissemble her indignation, and cover that venom which lay boiling in her Soul; and the truth is, she carried her self so cunningly, that in a short time, either by the efficacy of her charms, or the insinuation of her tongue, she perswaded her Husband that the report of her disloyalty to him was unjust, and that nothing was more false, then that accusation. Whereupon *Bellisarius* sent for *Theodosius* back again to *Antonina*, and promised to deliver up the *Macedonian*, and the two Chamber-Maids, which he performed very punctually. This cruel Woman, had no sooner got them in her power, but having first cut off their Noses, she caused their Bodies be hacked into a thousand pieces, and then cram'd into a Sack, and thrown into the Sea. Her main agent in this horrid execution, was one of her servants called *Eugenius*, who had been a great Minister likewise in the miseries which Pope *Silverius* had suffered. At length, *Bellisarius* at the perswa-

sion of his wife, put to death *Constantine* likewise ; and what we have said in another place, about the Dagger and *Presidius*, hapned about the same time. For when *Constantine* was ready to have been acquitted for what he had done against *Presidius* and *Bellisarius*, *Antonina* could take no rest till she were revenged for what he had said against her. But this proceeding of *Bellisarius* drew upon him the hatred of the Emperor, and of all the great Lords of the Empire.

In the mean time, *Theodosius* in answer to the invitation of *Bellisarius*, sent him word, That he would not come back into *Italy* (where *Antonina* and he were resident then) till he had banished *Photius*, who was *Antonina's* own son. This *Photius* was naturally haughty, could not brook to see others in greater favor than himself, and by consequence thought he had great reason to be discontented. He could not with patience behold himself neglected, and rendred considerable, being a Son of their own family, whilst *Theodosius* (but adopted) was in great authority, and his riches proportionable ; for the report was, he had got little less than Ten thousand Livres of Gold, whilst he was Treasurer in *Carthage* and *Ravenna* : Which was no hard matter, seeing the whole Treasure, both in the one place and the other, was under his single, and absolute administration. *Antonina* understanding what *Theodosius* required, fell immediately upon conspiracy against her son, and her plots were so well laid, and so artifi-

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ally managed, That *Photius* finding there was no safety where he was, was forced to retire to *Constantinople*, as not being able to protect himself against her perpetual ambushments : When *Photius* was gone, *Theodosius* was recalled into *Italy*, where *Antonina* continued for some time in as much luxury and happiness, as the embraces of her Gallant, and the stupidity of her Husband could contribute : But at length she returned with both of them to *Constantinople*. There it was, that *Theodosius* felt his first compunctions of Conscience, and began to be in no little perplexity to find how to demean himself ; for he could not hope to conceal his course of life any longer, seeing *Antonina* was so far from making a secret of her passion, that she abandoned her self wholly to the transport of her lust, without the least care or regret for the imputation of an adulteress. Upon this score he went off again to *Ephesus*, and having shaved according to custom, he entred himself into a Monastery. This accident put *Antonina* out of all patience, insomuch, that not only her habit, but her looks and deportment, represented nothing but sadness : She wept, and lamented up and down the house (though her Husband was then present, and in health) declaring publickly, That she was undone in the loss of *Theodosius*, whose fidelity, whose friendship, whose diligence, and magnanimity were incomparable ; and she brought over *Bellisarius* to be of her opinion, insomuch, as he ran up and down with the same complaints, and left no means

unattempted, that might bring *Theodosius* back again to his wife. Having tried several ways without effect, he came at length to the Emperor and Empress, and obtained of them, by extraordinary importunity to have him recalled, as a person absolutely necessary, as well for his future, as his present affairs: But *Theodosius* excused himself, pretending a resolution to continue where he was; the institutions of that Convent agreeing so exactly with his humor: Nevertheless this was but a copy of his countenance, and a design, that he might come to her afterwards, with more privacy when *Bellisarius* was gone.

The Emperor in the mean time, sent *Bellisarius* and *Photius* against *Cosroes*, King of the Persians, and *Antonina* continued at *Constantinople*, contrary to her custom; for till then, she had always accompanied her Husband in all his expeditions, how tedious, and how dangerous soever, fearing perhaps, lest when he was alone, he should return to himself, and take up some resolution that might prove to her ruine, when freed from her invigilements and charms: However, that she might not be wanting in any thing that might contribute to the recovering of *Theodosius*, she undertook to rid herself of *Photius*; to which purpose, she suborned several persons about *Bellisarius*, and perswaded them not to let a day pass without affronting *Photius*, and if possible, provoking him to mutiny: On the other side, Letters passed from her continually, by which, she incensed all people against her

her Son; which, by degrees, put him upon a necessity of discovering the impieties of his Mother, to *Bellisarius*; he sent a person instructed from *Constantinople*, and obliged him to tell *Bellisarius*, how the Court rung there with the debauches of his Wife and *Theodosius*. *Bellisarius* being smartly touched, suffered himself to be transported to what ever Indignation and Fury could suggest: He threw himself at *Photius* Feet, and entreated him to revenge himself, being so highly offended by persons, who by all Natural Obligations ought to have used him otherwise. Dear childe (said he to him) you are not sensible who was your Father, for you sucked when he died; his estate was no great advantage to you, for it was small, and inconsiderable: You have been brought up ever since with me, though I was but your Father in Law; and you are now at an age, in which you have power to assist me in vindication of the injury has been done me. I have preferred you to the dignity of a Consul, I have heaped wealth on you; so that I have served you for a Father, a Mother, and for all that is of near Relation; for which reason, you may call me by those titles very justly: For Men are not used to limit their Friendship according to the degrees of consanguinity, but rather according to merit and obligations; You have now a fair occasion presented, if you have any respect for a Person, whose honor, estate, and family, is in evident danger; and if you disclaim not to concern your self for your Mother, who by her ill conduct, runs a great hazard of making her self the Scandal and Reproach of all intelligent Men.

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You may consider, the frailties of a Wife have not so great reflexion upon the Husband, as the Children, upon whom the ignominy remains as an ill disease, which they had contracted from their Mothers. For my own part, I would have you believe I love Antonina exceedingly, and would never be induced to do her any mischief, if I could but revenge my self of him, who is the plague of my Family: But I shall never forgive my Wife, whilst Theodosius is living. Photius heard him with great patience, and promised his utmost assistance, but his greatest apprehension was, what might befall him, if he should repose any confidence in Bellisarius, who was the lightest and most unconstant of his Sex, especially in a business so contrary to Antonina. Several examples of his levity, gave him reason to fear, but none was so terrible as the misfortune of the Macedonian. Hereupon he pressed, and prevailed with Bellisarius, that they might mutually oblige themselves by the ties that are most sacred among Christians, never to betray or desert one another, though their lives or fortunes were in most imminent danger: But for all these precautions, Photius believed he could not attempt any thing securely; and therefore he concluded to expect, till Antonina was departed from Constantinople, and Theodosius was returning to Ephesus; at which time, he thought he might with more ease, seize upon Theodosius and all his vast treasure. In the mean time, Bellisarius with his whole Army invaded Persia, whilst several things hapned at Constantinople, which I have related

related elsewhere, as the loss of John de Cappadocia, &c. I only omitted on purpose, to say, That Antonina betrayed both the said John and her Daughter, notwithstanding millions of oaths and imprecations to the contrary. After this, she sent Theodosius back again to Ephesus, relying extremely upon the kindness of the Empress, who without any apprehension, removed into the East. It was not long before Bellisarius had taken the Fort of Sisauranum, and news was brought him, That his wife was at hand; whereupon he caused his Army to retreat, and seemed to prefer his own private interest, before the benefit of the Empire. True it is, There was another reason which moved him to discamp with his Army, and I have mentioned it in my other Books, but the arrival of Antonina contributed much: And this was one thing which I durst not communicate in the History which I published, as not thinking my self safe, if I should chance to be discovered.

From that time Bellisarius lost much of his reputation, both with the Emperor and People, for having preferred his own private, to the affairs of the publick: That which did principally induce him, was, That the extravagancies of his wife lying heavy at his heart, he could not without some trouble, resolve to quit the Frontiers of the Roman Empire, as knowing, That the nearer he was, with the more ease he should be able to revenge himself upon Theodosius, as soon as his wife was arrived. In order thereunto, he commanded Arethas, with part of his

his Troops, to cross the *Tigre*; but *Arethas* not executing his Orders, he returned into his own Countrey, without the honor of having performed his duty. *Belisarius* resolution was to keep himself within a league of the Frontiers, though the Fort of *Sisiranum*, which I mentioned before, was not above a days journey from the Frontiers, by the way of *Nisibe*; and by any other way, it was not half so far distant. In short, had he passed the *Tigre* at first, with his whole Army, I make no question, but he had been Master of all *Assyria*, and without any difficulty extended his Conquests as far as the City of *Ctésiphont*; and before his return, might have delivered the Inhabitants of *Antioch*, and all the *Romans* which were prisoners; besides, his unexpected departure, favored the Retreat of *Cosroes*, who was at the same time in *Colchis*. The case was thus, *Cosroes*, King of *Persia*, and Son of *Cabades*, having subdued *Petra*, and performed all the exploits which I have mentioned in my other Histories; his Army was much weakened and impoverished, not only by its Engagements and Sieges, but by the inconvenience of the ways, (being over Mountains and almost unpassable Rocks) and by a Contagion (which carried off a great part of his Army), besides the want of such things as were necessary. In this juncture of them, news arrived out of *Persia*, That *Belisarius* having vanquished *Nabades*, had taken *Sisiranum*, and in it *Belesinaches*, and Eight hundred *Persian* Horse; and was marching with his Army in good order directly

directly towards *Nisibe*, with design to besiege it: That another way he had sent a strong party under the command of *Arethas*, the chief of the *Sarrarins*, who had passed the River *Tigre*; so that the whole Countrey of *Assyria*, which before had never been subject to the Inroads of the Enemy, was at present infested, and became a prey to any that would invade it. Moreover, a Body of *Huns* which *Cosroes* had sent into *Armenia* (a Province belonging to the Roman Empire) had unfortunately encountered with the Troops of *Valerian*, and been almost utterly cut off. This news being brought to the *Persian* Camp, which was already perplexed with the incommodities which they had suffered a long time in the Countrey of the *Lavians*, caused them to apprehend, That if the Enemy should cut off the Passages, after all the Distresses and Calamities they had endured, they should again be reduced to a necessity of starving among the Rocks and Deserts, and their ruine be attended by the destruction of their Wives and their Children, and the inevitable Conquest of their whole Countrey, especially at a time when their Army was so afflicted with diseases. Hereupon they began to mutiny against *Cosroes*, and to upbraid him for having broken his Oath, and violated the Law of Nations, which is Sacred even among the *Barbarians*; they could not forgive him, that after a solemn Peace with the *Romans*, he had invaded their Territories, undertaken an unjust War against them, and attacked an Empire,

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not only the most antient in the World, but so powerful, That they could not in reason hope to overcome it, though their Army was much more considerable then it was. These discourses had so prepared the minds of the *Persians* for Sedition, that it was ready to break out, had not *Cosroes* applied a remedy in time, by reading the Letters which *Zaberganes* had received from the Empress, almost in these very terms.

Zaberganes,

YOU might easily perceive, when you were Ambassador with us, how ready we were to oblige you, and how little we disputed any thing that was to be done in your favor. You have now an opportunity, effectually to answer our good opinion of you, and that is, by prevailing with King *Cosroes* your Master, to continue that good intelligence with us, that the Peace did procure. I do engage, that the Emperor, my Husband, shall recompence any good office you shall do him, to the full; and let me tell you, he does nothing now without my counsel and approbation.

When *Cosroes* had read the Letter, he declared to the cheif Officers of his Army, That he could not but wonder the *Persians* should call that Empire invincible, which was governed by a Woman; and by this means he put a stop to their mutiny: Nevertheless, being still apprehensive, lest *Bellisarius* should possess himself of the Passes, he discamped immediately, and finding no opposition, he returned into his own Countrey without any impediment.

Bellisarius

Bellisarius being retreated into the Territories of the Empire, found that *Antonina* was arrived from *Constantinople*, and without the least token of kindness, he caused her to be taken into custody, and a Guard clap'd upon her: Many times it was in his thoughts to have put her to death, but he could never determine. I am of opinion his fondness was the cause, though others affirm, she used charms and enchantments to render him irresolute. In the interim, *Photius* arrived in great fury at *Ephesus*, having brought along with him *Caligonus* the Eunuch, who was *Antonina's* great Confident, and privy to all her debaucheries. This *Caligonus* being brought in Chains, and well lash'd by the way, confessed the truth in what ever was asked him: *Theodosius* having notice of what had passed, retired into the Church of *S. John*, which is of greater veneration then any other in *Ephesus*; but that would not serve his turn, for the Bishop (called *Andrew*) being corrupted with Money, delivered him up into the hands of *Photius*. On the other side, the Empress receiving advertisement from *Antonina*, and fearing some ill accident might befall her, sent orders to *Bellisarius* to come back with her to the Court. This order came no sooner to the ears of *Photius*, but he sent *Theodosius* into *Cicily*, where his Army was in its Winter Quarters; To those who conveyed him, he gave instructions to carry him as privately as possible, to deliver him into the hands of the *Cicilians* as soon as they were arrived, and to tell no body where they

they had disposed him. *Caligonus* he took along with himself, and all the wealth of *Theodosius*, and carried them to *Constantinople*: Then it was, that the Empress *Theodora* would give an example to all mankind, by recompensing the services of *Antonina*, by actions of greater cruelty, and crimes of greater infamy than her own. *Antonina* not long before had betrayed *John* of *Cappadocia* to the Empress; but the Empress out did her in the requital, For she caused several persons to be put into *Antonina's* hands, who (notwithstanding that they were innocent) were all of them put to death. In brief, many Friends and Relations, both to *Photius* and *Bellisarius* (whose only guilt was acquaintance with them) were drubbed and conveyed away where no body could ever hear of them; others were banished by her; and for no other crime, but for being intimate with them. Among the rest, there was one *Theodosius* who had accompanied *Photius* to *Ephesus*, she caused this *Theodosius* to be apprehended, and having seized upon his estate, she gave order to put him into a Dungeon where no day was to be seen, and made him be tied up by the Neck to a Rackstaff so short, that he was forced to continue in the same posture, without being able to turn himself; so that he was forced to eat and sleep, and evacuate as he stood, without any thing but his speech, to discriminate him from a Beast. In this cruel condition he continued four Moneths; after which, (though the Empress gave him his liberty) yet his spirits being

depressed

depressed with his afflictions, he died with the very thoughts of what miseries he had suffered. She constrained *Bellisarius* to reconcile himself with his Wife, in spite of his aversion, and what ever he could do to prevent it. *Photius* had a thousand stripes with a Stirrup-leather upon the Reins and the Shoulders, to make him confess what he had done with *Theodosius* and *Caligonus*. But though he was much weakned and dejected with his usage (having been naturally tender, infirm, and exceeding careful of his health, which care, till that time, had preserved him from any considerable affliction) yet he would never forfeit his Oath, nor discover his intrigue with *Bellisarius*, though not long after it came out another way, for *Theodora* found out *Caligonus*, and returned him to *Antonina*; and having got intelligence where *Theodosius* was, she sent for him to *Constantinople*, and concealed him in her Palace. The next morning she sent for *Antonina*, and told her, Dear *Antonina*, this day I have been presented with a Jewel, I conceive not to be matched in the whole World: If you have a curiosity to see it, I am so far from refusing you that privilege, I shall think myself happy to show it. *Antonina* not dreaming what it should be, was impatient to see it, and the Empress entring into the Chamber of one of her Eunuchs, brought out *Theodosius* in her hand. At the unexpectedness of the sight, her joy put her into so sudden an amaze, for some time *Antonina* was not able to speak; but being a little recollected, she made a thousand ex-

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pressions

pressions of thankfulness to the Empress, called her excellent Mistress, incomparable Benefactress, and the Preserver of her happiness in this World. *Theodora* kept *Theodosius* in her Palace, and used all means possible to re-establish him, and put him at the head of the Emperors Army, and in the mean time entertained him with all kind of delights ; but Divine Justice (which sooner or later, overtakes all such criminals) ordered it otherwise, for he died not long after of a fit of the Cholick.

Theodora had her Dungeons so deep, so private, so remote, and so horribly dark, the night, and the day were not possibly to be distinguished in them. In one of those dismal places, the poor *Photius* was kept close along time, though (I know not by what good fortune) twice he had escaped. The first time he got into the Church of our Lady (which is of principal veneration in *Constantinople*) and threw himself before the Altar ; but the Empress having notice, fetched him out by violence, and recommitted him to his Dungeon. The second time he hid himself in a Vault belonging to *Santa Sophia*, a place of no less esteem among the Christians ; but she made no scruple to force him from thence, there being no place so sacred, that she was fearful to violate, nay rather, she boasted and insulted in her Sacriledges, were the places never so holy. The People and the Clergy abominated her impieties, and made a thousand imprecations against her that committed them ; but neither the one, nor the other, had the courage

rage to oppose them. About three years, *Photius* had been recluse in this manner, when the Prophet *Zachary* appeared to him in a Dream, required him to escape, and promised his assistance. This Vision having encouraged him, he got out of his Dungeon as he could, and having passed unknown thorow hundreds of his persecutors, he came at length to *Jerusalem*, where (having shaved) he took the habit of a Monk, and evaded the cruelty of *Theodora*.

Bellisarius having neglected him in his persecutions (though he had sworn solemnly to assist him, and his sufferings were only for his sake) no wonder if afterwards God Almighty deserted in him all his affairs. Being a while after sent with an Army against *Cosroes*, King of *Persia*, who was the third time ravaging the Provinces of the Empire, though he repelled him with honour enough, yet he was suspected of Treason : For *Bellisarius* continuing in his Camp, instead of pursuing *Cosroes*, who in his retreat over *Euphrates*, had made himself Master of *Callinicum* (a very populous City) and taken many *Romans* prisoners in it, gave occasion of jealousy to the World, That it was either want of Fidelity, or Courage ; besides which miscarriages, there was another accident which augmented his disgrace. The sickness being at that time in *Constantinople*, and many people dying, the Emperor fell very ill among the rest, and a report was raised, that he was dead : The report being general, came at length to the Army of *Bellisarius*, and some of the cheif Officers began to talk, That if the

People of *Constantinople* were permitted to elect a new Emperor, they should run a great risque of being continued in the Army, as long as they lived, and never see their Countrey again. Not long after the Emperor recovering, the Officers of the Army began to impeach one another, and *Peter*, and *John Helluo* affirmed, That *Bellisarius* and *Busez* were the Authors of that discourse. The Empress having heard the accusation, was so highly incensed, that in a great passion, she sent for the chief Officers to come back to *Constantinople*: Having inquired into the business, and discovered the Authors, she sent for *Busez* into her Closet, pretending to speak with him about some business of importance: There was a private prison in her Palace, not to be come at, but by several turnings. Into that prison she caused *Busez* to be put, where the poor Man (though he had been Consul) was kept prisoner a long time, before it was known what was become of him: The Dungeon was so perpetually dark, he could not perceive when it was day, and there was no body to inform him, but a poor mute appointed to carry him his victuals, as if he had been a wilde beast; the whole World thought he was dead, and no one durst mention, either him or his memory. When he had been in this manner, as it were, buried alive, two years and four moneths, and in meer pitty was enlarged; he looked like a man come out of another World, lost his eyesight immediately, and began to suffer great infirmities in all parts of his body.

Bellisarius

Bellisarius could not be charged with any crime, yet the Empress prevailed with her Husband to have him cashiered, and put *Martin* over his head, to command the Army in the East. Besides, she divided the Command of the Targetters, and the Pikemen, and the Guards, which belonged formerly to *Bellisarius*, and were the readiest and best Disciplined Troops in the whole Army, among certain of her Eunuchs, and other favorites of the Court, who drew Lots for the command of the bravest Soldiers in the Empire; and by degrees she proceeded so far, as to forbid all the friends of *Bellisarius* to have any future correspondence with him. It was an object well worthy compassion, and indeed not easily to be believed to see the Great *Bellisarius*, who had commanded the whole Force of the *Roman* Empire, and signalized his Conduct and Valor in *Asia*, *Europe*, and *Africa*, creeping about the streets of *Constantinople* alone, without authority, or attendance, melancholly, dejected, and expecting every step to be knocked on the head. The Empress deputed one of her Eunuchs to seize, and bring to her Court a vast sum of Money which *Bellisarius* had hoarded in the East.

All which, *Theodora* did in kindness to *Antonina*, who was then at a distance with her Husband; for she loved *Antonina* exceedingly, upon account of the service which she had done her in the destruction of *John of Cappadocia*: So that if ever *Bellisarius* was to be eased of his misery, or readmitted into favor, the poor

man was not only to desist from doing ill to *Antonina*, but to own his life to her, and make himself a perfect engine and property of her triumph, *Bellisarius* going to Court one morning, according to his custom, to pay his devoirs to the Emperor, and the Empress (though his equipage was but thin, dirty, and in very ordinary Liveries) he found them very sower and severe upon him, and the Buffoons and Rascality of the Court, began to despise him: At night he went home, but in great fear, and looking behind him every step, expecting some body would have stabbed him. When he was got to his house, he went up to his chamber, and in great pensiveness he sat down upon his Bed: Those brave masculine thoughts which do usually present themselves to great Men, upon such occasions, were far from his mind; on the contrary, his fear had put him into a sweat, his terror into a trance; and he was in as great confusion, as the meanest caitiff in the World, *Antonina* knew nothing of the matter, and not imagining it in the least, was walking up and down the room, pretending indisposition, to take off her Husband from greater suspicions; when after Sun set *Quadratus* came from the Palace, to the house of *Bellisarius*, and running up the stairs, presented himself suddenly at his chamber door, and sent in word he was come to him from the Empress. At the very naming of the Empress, *Bellisarius* fell down backward upon the Bed, with his arms and his legs stretched out, and ready to receive his doom without any

any defence; so strangely had his antient courage forsaken him: But *Quadratus* presented him a Letter from the Empress which was almost in these very terms.

You cannot be ignorant, *Bellisarius*, what you have done against me, and how highly you have offended; but my obligation to your Wife prevailed with me, to pardon your crimes, grant you your life, and give you hopes of enjoying your old fortune for the future: But you must know, it is your behavior to *Antonina* that must give me assurance of your intentions.

Bellisarius was transported with joy at the reading of the Letter, and being desirous that *Quadratus* should be a witness in what manner he received it, he threw himself down in his presence, before his Wife, and embracing her knees, and kissing her feet, he called her his safety and preservation; protesting, that for the future he would own himself, not only her Husband, but her Vassal and Slave. Moreover, the Empress having detained Three thousand Livres of Gold, out of the sum which had been taken from *Bellisarius*, she returned him the rest, which was the same measure had been used with *Gilimere* and *Vitiges*, whom he had conquered not long before.

The Emperor and Empress had cast an ill eye for a long time upon the immense riches of *Bellisarius*, looking upon them as worthy to be added to their own Royal Revenue. They

complained; that he had kept to himself, great part of *Gilimeres* and *Vitiges* estate, not bringing it into the Coffers of the Emperor, as a thing of little or no value or concernment. However, they thought it not fit to discover their resentment, because of the many great things he had performed, and least their methods should be blamed in confiscating the estate of a person, against whom there was no accusation, nor any appearance of offence that might give any lawful occasion against him. But the Empress knowing that he suspected it, and had lost his ancient constancy, she found out a way to secure that estate by an alliance, and that was by promising her Grand-child *Anastasi*, to *Jane*, the only Daughter of *Belisarius*. In the mean time *Belisarius* requested that he might be restored to his charges, and return at the head of the Army, into the East, to make War upon the King of *Persia*. *Antonina* on the other side clamored in the ears of the Empress, That she would never consent her Husband should return into those Provinces, where she had suffered so many indignities, and been so barbarously treated. The contrariety of their demands obliged the Emperor to make *Belisarius* Master of his Horse, and send him the second time General into *Italy*, but with this condition, That he should defray the whole charge of that War himself, without any expectation from the Emperor. Some there were, who supposed *Belisarius* had come to this agreement with his Wife, and the Emperor, with design, when he was out of

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Constantinople, to put himself into a posture of acting against *Antonina*, and the rest, who had used him so cruelly: But the event manifested the contrary, for he forgot all that had passed, and instead of reflecting upon what he had solemnly promised to *Photius*, and the rest of his friends, he became a very slave to his Wife, and was most desperately enamored, though she was already threescore years of age and upwards. Having deserved the indignation of Heaven, he was no sooner in *Italy*, but he began to find his fortune adverse. In his first War against *Theodatus* and *Vitiges*, though the designs he undertook (in that juncture) seemed rash and unreasonable, yet they hapned generally to succeed well, and had a very good effect. In his second, he was judged a Man of good conduct, and one who understood how to take his measures aright, for he had been well acquainted with the strength, and the weakness both of the *Goths*, and of *Italy*; but when things declined, and failed of the success that was expected, the World began to quarrel with him, and his conduct, and he was so unhappy, as to confirm them by his future miscarriage. Certainly the affairs of Man are not regulated by their own Reason (whose bounds are too narrow and contracted) but by the Wisdom and Providence of God, who governs them as he pleases, though some (who are spectators of events, but know nothing of their causes) would attribute all to Fortune; but of that, let every one argue as he pleases.

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After his second expedition into *Italy*, *Bellisarius* was forced to return with dishonor, having been five years (as I have said elsewhere) in distress, not knowing where to be secure, or retire with his Troops. *Jotila*, how desirous so ever he shewed himself to come to an engagement, could never bring him to a Battle; so great was the terror, as well in himself, as his Army: So that instead of re-establishing the Emperors Affairs in *Italy* (which were in an ill condition) he lost *Rome*, and several other places before his face.

In all this War, the Emperor supplied him not with one farthing of Money, which put him upon great exactions in *Italy*, insomuch, that his thoughts were wholly applied to the raising of Money. He flead (as a man may say) all the *Sicilians*, the Inhabitants of *Ravenna*, and indeed all *Italy* besides: For of all who had the misfortune to fall under his power, there was scarce one that escaped the tyranny of his extortion, but he made him pay, and sometimes for things done before he was born. At this rate he would have dealt with *Herodian*, he pressed him for Money, and pressed him with all manner of threats; but *Herodian* chose rather to deliver up *Spoletto* (where he was Governor) to the *Goths*, not regarding the Fidelity which he had sworn to the Emperor.

I think it not improper, in this place, to give an account of the difference which broke out about this time, betwixt *Bellisarius* and his Nephew *John*, the son of *Vitalian*; which difference

ence was the cause of great losses to the Empire of *Rome*. The Empress had so great an aversion for *Germanus*, and dissembled it so little, that no body durst ally themselves with him, though he was the Emperors Brothers Son. In short, he had several Sons, but none of them could marry whilst *Theodora* was living: He had a Daughter likewise called *Justina*, which was already eighteen years of age, and unmarried; whereupon *Germanus* was constrained to propose a match betwixt the said Daughter, and *John*, whom *Bellisarius* had sent to *Constantinople*, though indeed in condition *Bellisarius* was much inferior to *Germanus*. The overture being accepted, it was thought necessary by mutual and inviolable Oaths, to oblige one another to use all possible means to consummate the match; for they were jealous on both sides, *John*, because the Lady was above his quality; and *Germanus*, because if he lost him, he despaired of another. The Empress enraged at this alliance, plaid them a hundred tricks to have broke it off; but finding all of them fail, and that her menaces were not able to divert them, she signified to *John*, that his life was in danger: Whereupon having order to return into *Italy*, he had no farther communication with *Bellisarius*, whilst *Antonina* was with him in *Italy*, apprehending (with good reason) the designs of that wicked Woman; for it was too probable, and not irrational for him to suspect, that the Empress had given her order to make him away, and it was the more credible considering the nature of *Antonina*, and the fondness

fondness of *Bellisarius*, who indulged his Wife in what ever she desired ; so much was his love, beyond all limits of reason.

This fear being grounded upon so many appearances of truth, made a deep impression in the mind of *John*. From that time the affairs of the Emperor went utterly to wreck, as wanting a person that was able to buoy them ; for *Bellisarius*, finding the *Goths* extremely successful, and advance in all their undertakings, he desired liberty to return out of *Italy* ; which being granted by the Emperor, he took his leave of the *Roman* Troops without any trouble, and indeed of all *Italy* ; the greatest part of which, he left in the hands of the *Goths*. *Perusia* was at that time distressed by a long siege, and being taken whilst he was in his journey to *Constantinople*, it endured all the miseries to which Towns that are taken by Assault, are usually exposed : But the State was not unhappy alone, *Bellisarius* had his private misfortunes in his own family. The Empress *Theodora* employed the utmost of her power to accomplish the match betwixt her Grandson *Anastasius*, and the Daughter of *Bellisarius*, obliging him to write continually to her Parents to expedite the business. The Parents to gain him, desired it might be protracted till they returned to *Constantinople*. The Empress suspecting their design, commanded them back, but they desired to be excused, and wrote word they could not stir out of *Italy*. She perceived their cunning immediately, and seeing *Bellisarius* had no other children, and that his

his daughter would infallibly be heir to his estate, she resolved *Anastasius* should have her, let it cost what it would ; for she began now to be jealous of *Antonina*, and not to place that confidence in her as formerly, apprehending, That as soon as she was dead, *Antonina* would forget the friendship she had shown her in all her exigences, and abandoning the Interests of her family, break off all the leagues and engagements betwixt them.

These considerations put her upon an enterprise full of wickedness and impiety. She lodged the daughter in the same Chamber with *Anastasius*, contrary to all Modesty, and sacred Ordinance : It was reported at the same time, that he had violated her privately, that the Emperor might not oppose himself against the Wedding, when it was so far advanced, as the loss of her virginity. After which, *Anastasius* having continued with her about eight months, they began to love one another, and their passion to grow ardent and strong.

When *Antonina* arrived at *Constantinople*, and the Empress was dead, she pretended to be ignorant of what had passed, and not regarding what might be said to the dishonor of her daughter (so she could find her another match) she forced her to renounce *Anastasius* ; which rendered her the most perfidious Woman upon the Earth : Yet all that could not hinder, but she got *Bellisarius* of her side, when he returned out of *Italy*. This it was which gave the World a perfect view of his humor and spirit. When he

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brake his engagements with *Photius*, and the rest of his friends, he was easily pardoned, because it was not thought so much the charms of his Wife, as the fear of the Empress, that made him violate his oaths. But when the said Empress was dead, it was observed, that instead of thinking upon *Photius*, and the rest, he submitted himself intirely to the dictates of his Wife, and her confident *Caligonus*, he began to be despised, as a man of no courage, and to be laughed at as a fool. And these to speak freely, were the faults of *Bellisarius*.

What *Sergius* the Son of *Bacchus* performed in *Africk*, I have mentioned elsewhere; and it was he who was the cause of the disorders in that Country. He passed his Parole to the *Lencathians*, and confirmed it by a solemn oath upon the Evangelists, and yet made no scruple to break it. He caused fourscore of their Commissioners, sent to him about their affairs, to be stabbed, when there was not the least suspicion of any evil design; yet he invited them to dinner, and caused them all to be slain, without any care or reflection upon his oath: And this was the cause, not only of the death of *Salomon*, but of the loss of the *Africans*, and Imperial Forces.

After the death of *Salomon*, the remaining Generals and Armies shew no great desire to fight, especially *John*, the son of *Sisinius*, who appeared not upon any occasion, till *Ariobindus* arrived in *Africk*. This was an effect of their hatred to *Sergius*, for besides that, he was nice, and

and effeminate, and without courage; he was young, impertinent, angry with the whole World, and insupportably proud. But having married the Neice of *Antonina*, Wife to *Bellisarius*, the Empress would not suffer him to be questioned, nor permit her Husband to turn him out of his Government of *Africk*, though it was visible enough, his affairs in that Province were in danger of ruine. She obtained likewise, that the Emperor dismissed and pardoned his young Brother *Salomon* for the murder of *Pagasius*, which hapned as follows.

Pagasius having redeemed *Salomon*, paid his ransom to the *Lencathians*, and brought the *Barbarians* home, returned to *Carthage* with *Salomon*, and a few Soldiers in his company. By the way he remonstrated to *Salomon* the wrong he had done, in having committed so great an offence, and that he ought to remember, That he was delivered out of the hands of his enemies by a particular providence. *Salomon* conceiving he had reproached him as a slave, and being exasperated, killed him upon the place, to requite what he had done for him in saving his life; and when he came to *Constantinople*, the Emperor discharged him of the fact, and gave him his pardon in writing. As soon as he was cleared of that danger, *Salomon* departed to see his friends in the East; but by an evident punishment inflicted by Divine Justice, he died by the way.

This being the passage betwixt *Pagasius* and *Salomon*, I shall return now to *Theodora* and *Justinian*,

Justinian, and give an account of their humors, their manner of conduct, and by what methods of Tyranny they afflicted the Empire of *Rome*.

Leo being in the Throne of the Empire, three young Men of *Illyrium*, called *Zimarque*, *Vitibiste*, and *Justin* (born in *Bederiane*, and accustomed to walk up and down the World) to avoid the extream poverty which they suffered, took a resolution to put themselves into the Army, and came on foot to *Constantinople*, each of them with an old nasty Coat on his back, and nothing with them but a few Bisket for their voyage. The Emperor having received them into pay, put them into his *Gardes du Corps*, because they were very proper and personable men. When *Leo* was dead, and the Empire devolved upon *Anastasius*, he sent a brave Army under the command of *John de Boffu*, against the *Issaurians* who were in Rebellion. After some few days march, the said General caused *Justin* to be clapped in prison, upon some enormity, with design to have had him executed the next day: But (as the said *Boffu* confessed many times since) he was diverted by a Vision, which appeared to him in the night, in the shape of a more then ordinary Man, requiring him to set him at liberty, whom he had committed the day before. When *Boffu* awaked, he regarded not his Vision, and though it appeared again the next night, he took no more notice of it then before: But the third night being visited again, the Vision threatned him more fiercely.

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then formerly, and told him, That when time served, there would be great use of the prisoner, and his friends, and so commanded him to discharge him, or he would make him sensible of his displeasure; and by this means *Justin* was preserved. In process of time, the said *Justin* came into great credit with the Emperor *Anastasius*, who gave him the command of his Guards, by whom after the death of *Anastasius*, he was chosen Emperor of *Rome*, though he was so old he was quite grey, and (which never hapned to the *Romans* before) so ignorant, he knew not one Letter of the Book; insomuch, That it being the custom for the Emperors to write all their Warrants under their own hands, he could neither write, nor subscribe them, but left it to *Prochus* his Questor, who was continually with him, and gave out what Orders he pleased. That the Emperors hand might appear to every thing that was ordered, one of his Officers found out this invention; He took a piece of a Board, and shaving it very thin, he caused the Letters of the Emperors name to be cut thorow in Latine Characters; and when it was finished, clapped it upon the Paper, where the Order was written, and giving the Pen to the Emperor, another took him by the hand, and guided it in the cuts, till his name was subscribed; after which they retired, and their Orders were compleat, and in this manner *Justin* governed the Empire. His Wife (called *Lupicina*) had been a slave, was born a *Barbarian*, and having been bought by *Justin*, and served

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him a long time in the nature of a Concubine, he married her, and she lived with him to his dying day. *Justin* was not capable of doing his Subjects either good or hurt ; for he was a Man of extraordinary stupidity and sottishness, and extraordinary brutish. But *Justinian* his Sisters Son, who was young, and governed the State, brought more and greater evils upon the Empire, then were ever mentioned in all the Histories of former times. He made no scruple of sequestering any mans estate, nor murdering any mans person, and could without any remorse give orders for the putting to death a great multitude of innocent persons at once. He never executed the resolutions that were taken, but on the contrary was so great a lover of Novelty, that he delighted to subvert and undo all things that were well ordered, with a word. During his Reign, as I have said before in my other Books) there hapned so great a contagion quite thorow his Dominions, that few or none escaped who were infected, and few or none escaped without infection : But as to the Tyranny of *Justinian*, there was scarce a Subject of the whole *Roman Empire* but had had some experiment of it. This unhappy Prince (as if he had been sent down from Heaven as a Plague upon his People) put some of them to death in a criminal way ; and others he kept alive, but in such deplorable poverty, they desired a thousand times to be delivered by the greatest punishment he could inflict. Not contented that he had ruined and subverted the

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Roman Empire, he imployed his Armies for the Conquest of *Italy* and *Africk*, to involve those two brave Countreys in the same calamities which he had brought upon the other Provinces that had submitted to his Dominion. He was scarce ten days in Authority, before he put *Amantius* to death (who was the cheif of the Court Eunuchs) and many others, upon no other grounds, but because they had spoke too liberally against *John*, the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, which made him afterwards the most terrible Man in the World. About the same time he sent for the Tyrant *Vitalian*, promised him (in the Emperors name) sincere amity, obliged him to embrace the Christian Religion ; but growing jealous of him afterwards, and suspecting he was not true to his interests, he caused him, and all his Relations and Friends to be stabbed in the middle of the Court without the least compunction for the breach of his Faith, which is a sacred thing among all Men.

As I have said before, there were at that time two contrary factions among the people ; of which, having gained the *Venetes*, and managed them along while, he had all the liberty he could desire to molest and disorder every thing as he pleased ; so that having found the *Roman Empire* declining, he easily finished its destruction, though the most seditious of that party, who served him in the execution of his tyrannical designs, have passed since for the most moderate of all Men, because they did not

abuse that liberty to do mischief, which was given them, as they might have done. Those of the opposite party (which was called the faction of the *Prasinians*) committed several murders and outrages as they had opportunity, and it was in their power, though from time to time, some of them suffered privately very cruel punishments, which did but animate the rest ; for it is frequently seen, that injury does but exasperate, and provoke people to betake themselves to force ; and the desire of revenge carries them on to such ill actions as they would not do, had they not been irritated before. The *Venetes* having got the priority, the *Roman* Empire was utterly overturned, and all things put into confusion without possibility of recovery. The Cities and Towns were ruined, as if they had been pillaged by an Enemy, or destroyed by some Earthquake or Inundation ; all things ran into most desperate disorder. Justice and the Laws were quite out of force, the Face of the Government was intirely changed , and in a little time all things ran headlong to ruine. The Factions began to be effeminate, to take delight in their Hair, and to cut it after a mode that was quite new to the *Romans* ; they shaved not their Beards as formerly, but suffered them to grow long like the *Persians* ; they shaved the fore part of their Head to their very Temples, leaving it thick as possible behind, after the manner of the *Massagets* ; and this kind of cut they called *The Mode of the Huns*. They made themselves rich Cloaths, embroidered very magni-

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ficently, and more costly by far then their conditions would bear, had not the Money they had gotten by their Violences, furnished them with wherewithal. The Sleeves of their Vests were extream strait at their Wrists, but from thence to their Sholders, they were extraordinary wide, insomuch, that when upon the Theater, or in the Circus when they stretched forth their hands, either in speaking themselves, or inciting of others, they exposed that part of the Body, that Sots and Fools might be induced to believe it was the strength and greatness of their Arm, which obliged them to wear them so large, nor perceiving that the vacuity and wideness of the Sleeve, did rather discover the finallness of their Limbs. They took also the Doublet and the Hose, and several other fashions from the *Huns*, and gave them the names which they retain still among the people. At first they carried Daggers privately under their Coats, and meeting in little troops as soon as day was shut in, they took their Posts, possessed themselves of the corners of the Streets, robbed all that past by, took away their Cloaks, their Belts, their Gold Buckles, or what ever else they thought convenient for them. Some they killed after they had robbed them, that they might tell no tales, nor discover who had wronged them. All people were fellow sufferers in these exorbitancies, but especially those who were not of the faction of the *Venetes* ; finding they could not do otherwise securely, they began to wear Clasps and Buckles of Copper upon their

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Belts, and their Cloaths were made meaner then perhaps their qualities did require, least the richness of their habits might bring their lives into danger, and every one went home before night, for fear of ambushments by the way. These mischeifs increased every day, and the seditious grew more insolent, because the Magistrates of the Town punished not the guilty ; so that crimes increased easily, by the security of committing them ; for they were not severe enough in their corrections to reach at the Root, and many were hurried into them by the impetuosity of their natures. And this was the behavior of the *Venetes* ; for the other faction, most of them changed their party, to revenge themselves in their particular quarrels : Some hid themselves where they could, others were massacred by their Enemies, or died of the punishments which the Magistrate inflicted. A good party of youth of the Town Joyned themselves with that faction, not for any inclination to them for their power, but because the vigor of their age, and the liberty they affected, prompted them thereto : There was no sort of crime uncommitted in these times, nor none that was committed, was punished as it ought. At first they slew only such as were of the contrary faction ; but by degrees they spared nobody, but killed the innocent, and those who had never offended them. They suffered themselves to be hired for Money to murder the Enemies of other People, and their pretence was, That they were of the faction of the *Prasini*ans,

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though they knew the contrary : They did not hide themselves now to do their villanies as before : They waited not till night as they had formerly done, but committed their cruelties at noon day, in the midst of the Town, and in the presence of the most considerable Persons ; and they needed not to abscond, for they were so far from fearing correction, That they esteemed it a great honor and reputation to them, when they could kill a poor unarmed man, which they met by accident in their way, at a single blow. During these disorders, no man was secure of his life, every man was in danger every moment ; no time, no place could protect them, for the factions cut the throats of whom they pleased in the most sacred of their Temples, and during the most solemn of their Ceremonies. No man could trust either his Kinred or Friends, for commonly they murdered most of them who trusted them too easily. No accusation nor process was made out against any man, and a million of persons were destroyed without any opposition, and no body went about to succor or relieve them. The Laws lost all their authority, Contracts were void, and unprofitable, and all things were decided with violence and confusion. In short, the *Roman* Empire degenerated into a kind of mutable tyranny, subject every day to change and innovation. The great Men were cowed, and dejected like so many slaves, and all for the fear of one Man. The Judges determined not of their Causes according to Law, but as the

parties were beloved or hated by the factions ; for it was as much as the Judges life was worth, to reject the orders of the *Venetes*, or neglect to obey them. Several Creditors were forced to deliver up their Securities to their Debtors, and lose all that they had lent them. Others were forced to manumit their slaves, young Gentlemen of the best Families of the City being of the factions, forced Moneys from their own Parents, and constrained several Women to submit to the brutish appetites of their slaves. Children even in sight of their Parents, were forced to suffer the effects of the brutality of the seditious , and married Women were no more exempted then they. It was reported, that some of these factions having met a Woman in no extraordinary habit, who was crossing the Water with her Husband in a little Boat, to go into the Suburbs on the other side, they forced her out of the arms of her Husband into their Boat. The Woman whispered her Husband in the ear, and advised him not to be concerned, or fear that she would do any thing unworthy of her, for she was resolved not to permit any thing that might have reflexion upon his honor ; and a while after, as he was complaining to himself, and following her with tears in his eyes, she threw her self over board, and was drowned.

The violences used by the seditious in *Constantinople*, did not so much exasperate the spirits of the people, as what *Justinian* himself did against the State ; for the sorrows of the afflicted

ed are much diminished, whilst they have hopes of revenging themselves on their unjust persecutors by the help of the Magistrate. In effect, when hope keeps up the heart, present miseries are easily supported : But when we are persecuted by the Prince himself, who has all the power in his own hands, our sufferings are more sensible, and we are more prone to despair, because we have no hopes left to be revenged. *Justinian* was not only culpable in neglecting the cries of the distressed, but that in sight of the whole World he gave protection to the young men of the sedition, would have all people know it, gave them vast estates, had many of them about him in his train, and advanced some of them to the dignity of Magistrates. In the same manner as things were carried in *Constantinople*, they were managed in the smallest villages ; so that it was like a Plague, which having begun in the capital City, diffused it self, and ravaged the whole Empire, without any concernment in the Emperor, who took no notice of what was perpetrated in the *Circus* under his very Nose ; so strangely sottish was he grown. *Justinian* having neglected his affairs, put every thing in disorder ; no sooner did he find himself in the Throne of the Empire, but he made it his whole business to drain and exhaust the publick Treasures which he had in his hand. For besides the great expence which he was at for the reception of the *Huns*, who came frequently to visit him, he gave them large presents when they went away. From that time,

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the Provinces under the *Roman* Dominion were subject to the frequent inroads of the *Barbarians*, who returned often for their riches; for after they had once tasted the sweetness of them, they would never be without them. He took a fancy to expend vast sums of Money in building of Moles, and Stovadoes of prodigious extent, to break the force of the waves, and with immense pieces of Stone to put bounds to the Sea, and by force of his Money, to compel that Element to a fence of his Empire. He sequestred the estates of particular persons, and squeezed them into his own Coffers, charging some with imaginary crimes, and perswading others, that they had given him their estates. Some to save themselves from death, having been accused of *Paracides* and Murders, and other fictitious crimes, gave all they had to the Emperor. Others in suit with their Neighbors, and finding it was like to go against them in spite of their Lawyers, made over their right to their Prince, only to make themselves known to him, and please him, who took all without giving them a farthing; by which unjust kind of *Champerty* they many times ruined their adversaries, when they thought themselves secure. His stature was neither too great nor too little, well proportioned, and rather inclinable to be fat; his face was round and comely, his complexion was fresh, and some times when he had eaten nothing in two days. In a word, he was very like the Emperor *Domitian* (Son to the Great *Vespasian*) whose ill deeds were so terrible among the *Romans*,

mans, that their hatred continued after they had torn him in pieces; and by an Act of the Senate it was commanded, That he should not be mentioned in any future Record, and that all his statues should be destroyed; and their command was so well executed; That there is not to be seen in *Rome* any inscription of his name, unless in such places where he is numbred among the other Emperors, nor does there remain in the whole *Roman* Empire, any of his statues except one, which was left upon this following occasion.

Domitian had a Princess to his Wife, so honorable and good, she never did mischief, nor so much as offended any person alive, and always disapproved the crimes of her Husband; so that being exceedingly beloved, after the death of *Domitian*, the Senate sent for her, gave her leave to make her demands, and promised to grant them without difficulty. The virtuous Lady desired liberty to bury the Body of her Husband, and erect a statue of Brass for him, where she should think it convenient, and the Senate complying, she contrived that of which I speak, to leave to posterity a Monument of the cruelty of those persons who made away her Husband: She caused the pieces of his Body to be found out, and having joyned and placed them in order as well as she could, she shewed them to the Statuaries, who taking his Mold, cast him afterwards in Brass, and she caused it to be set up at the Foot of the Mountain of the Capitol, on the right hand as you come from the

the Palace : And this is the only statue in being, that gives us any remembrance, either of the Visage, or Fortune of *Domitian*. By observing of this statue, one may see the proportion and features of *Justinian* : His manners would be troublesome to describe exactly, and I question whether I could do it or no.

He was crafty, and yet easie to be deceived ; so that he might be said to be cunning and weak, both together : He never told, nor signified any thing that was true, to any who had business with him ; but by the malignity of his nature, he endeavored to circumvent every body, though he himself was continually exposed to the fallacies of other people. This was the ridiculous temper of *Justinian*, in whom I find verified what a Peripatetick Philosopher maintained formerly, *That as contrary colours accord well enough when they are mingled in the Paint, so contrary qualities do in the nature of Man.* And to speak what I found in him to be true, *Justinian* dissembled so perfectly well, that there was no man concealed his sentiments so well, conducted a fraud with more dexterity, acted so subtilly in every thing, and put a better countenance upon his anger and indignation : He had no need of the assistance of joy or of grief, to bring the tears into his eyes, having some of them ready in reserve upon every occasion ; though he cheated by continued falsehoods, yet it was with premeditation. When he had passed his Parole, and set his hand to what he had promised and contracted with his Subjects, he

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brake all without any remorse, as audaciously as those slaves who are forced only by threats to the performance of their promises : He was inconstant to his friends, and inexorable to his Enemies : He was equally greedy of Blood and of Money : He was a great lover of novelty and troubles : He was easily perswaded when any mischief was to be done, but obstinate and unmovable to any action that was good : He was excellent at inventing new crimes, but the name of virtue he abhorred. These were his defects, besides other vices (which I omit) and he surpassed in such sort the common Inpiety of Man, that it might be said, There was drawn what ever was bad out of the rest of mankind, to make in his person a perfect composition of wickedness : For besides what I have said, his ear was always open to Informers and Traytors, and he imposed great penalties and punishments upon such as were accused : He never understood any cause that he judged, but contenting himself with the accusation, he gave sentence without any reason, and many times by one single word under his hand, he gave orders (suddenly) that Towns should be ruined, Cities should be burned, and whole Countreys over-run ; so that if one would examine all that has hapned in the *Roman* Empire from its foundation, and compare it with this age, he would finde more murders committed by *Justinians* order or permission, then in all the ages before him : He ingrossed the Estates of other people with incredible avarice : He sequestred

questred them without any pretence, and when he had them in his power, he thought of them no more ; but gave them away in extravagant largesses to the *Barbarians*, -or spent them in ridiculous buildings ; and to conclude in few words , He had no Money himself, and would suffer no body else to have any, discovering in that, that it was not covetousness alone which excited him to those things , but malice and envy ; so that having exhausted the whole Treasure of the Empire , he was occasion of the universal impoverishment of the whole World. And this as near as I could, is the Character of *Justinian*, if he may be described by the Pen.

I shall now speak of his Wife, and give an account of her birth, education, manners, and by what accident she came to be Empress, and how she assisted the Emperor towards the destruction of the Empire. There was at *Constantinople* a Man called *Acacius*, who had the charge of the Beasts, which the Faction of the *Prasini-ans* caused to be kept for the shews in the Amphiteater. This *Acacius* died of the sickness, under the Reign of *Anastatius*, leaving behind him three Daughters, *Comitone*, *Theodora*, and *Anastatia* ; the eldest not above seven years old. Their Mother finding her self a Widow, began to look out for another Husband , who might manage her affairs at home , and exercise her charge ; but *Asterius* being superintendant of the shows which the *Prasini-ans* made , and being bribed by Money, took her Husbonds office from

from her, and gave it to him who had corrupted him ; for those places are perquisites to the superintendants, and depend wholly upon them. The Mother of *Theodora* seeing the people assembled one day, to behold the combat of the Beasts , presented her three Daughters before them with Crowns of Flowers upon their Heads, and Bracelets of the same, and begged of them that they would continue their Fathers office to them ; but the *Prasini-ans* refused it by common consent. On the other side the *Venetes* having lost the officer which had the care of their Beasts , gave it to the Mother, and her three Daughters, to recompence what they had lost with the *Prasini-ans*. The Mother finding her self re-established, presented her Daughters upon the Stage one after another, as they grew up, and occasion was offered. *Comitone* the eldest was already famous among the rest of the *Courtis-ans* ; and *Theodora* the second, waited upon her as her Maid with little Sleeves, and short Coats, carrying her chair upon her back when her sister went into company. But when she came to maturity, and her beauty began to be celebrated, her Mother devoted her to the Theater, and a while after she took her place among the *Courtis-ans* , which the Antients called the *Barefeet*, (for she played not upon the Flute, or any other Instrument, nor sung, but prostituted her self indifferently to all people that she met) at length she associated with a company of Players, where she personated all people, and represented Farces, and such kind of Comical Diversifications,

tisements, for she was naturally very pleasant; and spoke things very well; so that in a short time she drew the Eyes of the whole World upon her, and especially, because having no shame, nor vertue, she acted any part, how unhand-some soever. She was of such a constitution, she could take any injury or affront, and having complained to the full, she would change her note, and laugh as if her heart would break. For this cause, when civil or vertuous people met her in the Palace or the Streets, they turned another way to avoid her, least approaching her, or by accident touching but her cloaths, they should have participated of her debaucheries; and they who encountered her in the morning, looked upon it as an ill Omen, and expected no good the following day; she had a mortal animosity against all Women of her own profession.

This being her life for some time, she came into *Syria* with *Hecebolus* of *Tyre*, Governor of *Pentapolis*, as an instrument of his pleasures; but some difference falling out, he turned her off, and dismissed her. Falling afterwards into distress, her necessities obliged her to her old way of prostitution. At first she came to *Alexandria*, afterwards (having practised quite thorough the East) she arrived at *Constantinople*, having exercised a profession that cannot with modesty be named; nay, the Devil so wrought with her, that there was not a place in the whole Empire where *Theodora* had not left the marks of her immodesty.

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Being educated in this manner, and her conversation being agreeable, she became the most famous of all Women that ever were debauched. She had not been long at *Constantinople*, before *Justinian* fell most desperately in love with her. At first he entertained her only as a *Miss*, though he preferred her to the dignity of a *Patrician*: The fondness of *Justinian* (to whose pleasures she devoted her self wholly) made her way easie to a most eminent degree of authority, and to the amassing and heaping up immense riches in a very short time; for (according to the custom of those Lovers, whose Passion is extravagant) he gave her what ever she desired, and she desired what ever was to be given, and the redundancy of her wealth added new fuel to his flames.

This was the *Theodora*, which was *Justinian's* colleague in the destruction of the State, and the ruine of the People, not in *Constantinople* alone, but in all places under the *Roman* Dominion, and the rather, because being both of the party of the *Venetes*, they had put the Government into the hands of that faction, though indeed the evil was delayed for some time by this following accident.

Justinian was surprised with a long, and tedious sickness, and it was reported in many places he was dead. During his indisposition, that faction committed all the exorbitancies aforesaid, and they proceeded so far as to kill a person of quality, called *Hypatius*, in the very Church of *S. Sophia*: The wickedness of that

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action put the people into an uproar, they assembled, and went in a tumultuous manner to the Emperor *Justin*, (glad with all their hearts, that they had an opportunity, in which the absence of *Justinian*, permitted them to complain of the violences which they had suffered, and what miseries he had brought upon others.) This address of the people prevailed with the Emperor to send Orders to the Governor of the City called *Theodotus Cucurbitinus*, to inquire into the business, and bring the offenders to punishment. He observed his orders very punctually, for having made inquisition, and taken some of the offenders, he caused them to be punished according to the severity of the Law; some saved their lives by hiding themselves in Dens and by places, and were reserved to perish afterwards with the Empire it self. *Justinian* recovering miraculously of his distemper, conspired against *Theodotus*, and accused him of Magick; but failing in that design, by violence and tortures he constrained one of his friends to bring in a false accusation against him. The business coming before the Senate, and no body daring to oppose the unjust designs of *Justinian*, it had like to have gone ill with him; for every body was fearful to speak his judgment, and they thought it sufficient to condole the misfortune of *Theodotus* whom *Justinian* had sworn to destroy. But *Proclus* the Questor, judged him innocent by his authority, and maintained that he was not worthy of death; so that all *Justinian* could obtain, was his banishment out
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of *Constantinople*, and to have him sent to *Jerusalem*, where having notice that there were plots against his life, he was forced to betake himself to a Monastery where he died: And these were the affairs of *Theodotus*.

The Faction after this, became the most moderate people in the World, for they made no use of the liberty they had at that time (more then ever before) of doing what mischief they pleased; in short, a while after several assassinations were committed, but none punished; for they who were appointed to make inquisition, gave the criminals opportunity to escape, and by their illegal indulgence, left them at liberty to illude and laugh at the Law.

Whilst the Empress *Euphemia* lived, *Justinian* by all the art he could use, could not obtain permission to marry *Theodora*; for the Empress opposed his designs, though otherwise she indulged him in every thing. That Princess had no evil inclinations, but being (as is said before) of barbarous extraction, her manners were so ridiculous and dull, she continued as incapable as at first, and never understood any thing of matters of State. Moreover, she was not suffered (being Empress) to retain the name of *Lupicina* (which was infamous) but was called *Euphemia*; and not long after *Justinian* was recovered, she died. The Emperor *Justin* was grown so old and superannuated, he had lost his judgment, and was exposed to the contempt and derision of his subjects; so that all people paid obedience to *Justinian*, who by his debauches,
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bauches, and the liberty he took to do what he pleased, made himself formidable to every body. Then it was he took a resolution of marrying *Theodora*, and there being an old Law in force, prohibiting the Senators marrying with the Courtisans, he prevailed with the Emperor to repeal that by a new one, and then he married *Theodora*, giving by his example, authority to any who desired it, to marry with the first Courtisan they fancied.

The next thing he affected, was to be arbitrary and tyrannical, disguising his own violencies with the pretence of promoting the affairs of the Emperor, who, at that time, was not capable of them himself. He caused himself to be saluted Emperor of the *Romans*, in conjunction with his Uncle; but whether justly, or not, is a question; for he constrained the Senate and the People by his menaces to give their consent. *Justinian* and *Theodora* began to govern two days before *Easter*. In which, it is not allowed to salute any body, or pay any other ceremonious respect. Not many days after, *Justin* died, having Reigned nine years compleat, and left the Empire to *Justinian* and *Theodora*, whose extraction being as I have said, and her education and conduct, being as I have described, she arrived at the Empire without difficulty, after *Justinian* had condescended to marry her, when it was in his power to have chosen for himself out of the whole *Roman Territory*, a person of the highest quality, the best education, eminent for modesty, illustrious for beauty,

beauty, an immaculate Virgin, and in brief, one that had been accomplished in the highest perfection. Nevertheless, he chose rather to take upon himself the common infamy of all Men, as not being ashamed, nor making any scruple to admit to his Bed a Woman, who besides other crimes, was guilty of the death of so many Children by her artificial Miscarriages and Abortions. I suppose there wants nothing in my description of *Justinian*.

This marriage is sufficient to discover his temper. In effect, He who after the Commission of so many ill actions, apprehends not the disgrace, and is not concerned at what people say, nor at the contempt they have of him, does questionless believe there is no crime, but he may boldly commit, and undertakes the most detestable things with great impudence and audacity. There was not one of the Senators who opposed his designs, though they saw his marriage would inevitably be the ruine of the Empire: On the contrary, they disposed themselves to give *Theodora* the respect of a Diety. There was not one of the Prelates which expressed any regret for being obliged to call her their Sovereign: And those who not many years before, had seen her upon the stage, addressed themselves to her as her slaves, and held up their hands to her in token of their humility, when they came with any Petition: The Army made no difficulty to expose it self for *Theodora* to all the perils, and incommodities of War. In short, there was no man in the whole Empire,

that showed any repugnancy, and the whole World contributed to the accomplishment of a thing, which Heaven had long since decreed. I am of opinion, Fortune had a minde to make experiment of her power, and convince mankind of it, by governing the affairs of the Earth in that manner, that they might observe there is no necessity of any cooperation of Man to the effecting of any thing, or that humane affairs are to be conducted by humane prudence, when her unjust power should advance to the top of all earthly honors, a person which was involved in insuperable difficulties; and (to speak in a word) to show that nothing was able to withstand her power. She pleases herself sometimes to create obstacles, which afterwards she surmounts in a moment, and passes where she pleases; and at the same time, whilst she places some upon the top of her Wheel, others are at the bottom, and thrown down by her partiality and violence.

Theodora had an excellent face, and though her person was small, yet she was exceedingly well shaped; her complexion was neither too white, nor too red; her eyes were extream quick, and she cast them a thousand ways at once.

To give a particular Narrative of all that hapned when she was upon the Stage, we should want time; but I conceive, what I have said in few words of some of her actions, is sufficient to give any one a notion of her manners and inclinations; I shall now represent what she did with

with her Husband, after they had made themselves Masters of the Empire (for they did nothing without participation of one another, though they had studiously pretended that they did not agree: But at length their hypocrisie was discovered, and it appeared, their animosity was but design to keep their Subjects in obedience, whilst they remained uncertain with which of the two to joyn, or to what side they were to repair.

The first effect of this counterfeit dissen- sion was to distract the Christians, after which they made division among the heads of the popular Factions. *Theodora* pretended great zeal for the Faction of the *Venetes*, permitting them to enterprize any thing against the contrary party, and themselves to act what enormities they pleased. *Justinian* seemed in appearance to be angry, and to complain publicly, That his Wife superceded his orders, and that he could not retain her in her duty; and sometimes both of them asserted their authority together, *Justinian* ordered the punishment of the *Venetes* in criminal cases; *Theodora* protected them, and objected against the Emperor the breach of his promise. In the mean time, the *Venetes* were the more moderate of the two, because they did not abuse the liberty which was given them, to that degree they might have done. In many of their Suits and Contentions, *Justinian* was on one side, and *Theodora* on the other, and it was a rule betwixt them, the weakest side carried it, and the sum in dispute went most into their

Pockets. *Justinian* received many persons into the number of his friends, suffered them to exact upon the people, and commit many extortions to the detriment of the State ; but when they had peeled what they could, and heaped up any considerable treasure, as soon as *Theodora* gave the sign, they immediately declined in favor. At first *Justinian* would promise to protect them, and to encourage them not to fear, for he would stick by them ; but by degrees his kindness began to abate, and at length he referred them to those who had none for them at all ; for then it was *Theodora* began to play her pranks, and exercise her cruelty towards them ; and the Emperor, as if he had known nothing that was against them, took their estates into his possession, and kept them most injuriously when he had done.

By this pretended discord (which was only a copy of their countenance, and done only to amuse the World) having divided the hearts of their Subjects, they established themselves more strongly in their power and tyranny. When *Justinian* was arrived at the Empire, he began to subvert, and perfectly to confound the affairs of the Empire, introducing things forbidden by the ancient Laws, and forbidding those which the Laws had formerly enjoined ; as if he had assumed the Imperial Mantle, and put the Diadem upon his Head for no other end, but to change the face of the Government. In short, he abolished all the Laws, all the Customs of the Magistrate, and all the Military Discipline,

pline, bringing in others in their places, not that they were better for the publick, or of any necessity themselves, but only out of a desire to innovate, or that by giving them his name, at least they might appear new. He could never satisfy his insatiable desire, either of Money or Blood : But when he had despoiled one of what ever could be got, he removed to another, and treated him at the same rate ; and when he had done all, ruined his good Subjects, and dishonored himself : How was all this immense treasure employed ? either in ridiculous presents to the *Barbarians* ; or in impertinent and unnecessary building : Though he had soiled and polluted himself before, with the murders of several innocent persons, he laid new designs against more, with intention to destroy them ; and seeing the *Roman* Empire was in good intelligence with all Nations, by an unexampled fury he set the *Barbarians* together by the ears, and engaged them in an expensive, and pernicious War ; and having sent for the principal of the *Huns* (without the least occasion in the World, he gave them vast sums of Money out of his sottish liberality, to gain (as he pretended) their amity, and confirm it, as had been formerly done in the Reign of *Justin*. The *Huns* having got what they could, began to solicit the Heads of the other barbarous Nations, to fall upon the Empire, that they might sell Peace likewise to him that was so ready to buy it. They needed not much perswasion, but taking the hint, they pillaged several Towns belonging

to the Empire ; and yet all this while continued to take the Emperors pay. They were no sooner gone, but others succeeded, who having plundered his Dominions, and carried away a most considerable booty, were rewarded by *Justinian* for their pains, who was grown the most liberal in that nature of any Prince in the World. In short, from that very time, the *Barbarians* never gave over ravaging his Countrey, one party perpetually following at the heels of another : For those people having many Princes among them, being numerous themselves, and of different interests ; this War (which derived its original from the extravagant Liberality of the Emperor) begun with one, was continued with another, and so perpetually carried on, that there was not a Mountain so little, a place so inconsiderable, nor a Cave so obscure in the whole extent of the *Roman* Dominion, as to be exempt from the pillagings of these *Barbarians* : Some Provinces were so unfortunate as to be plundered five times over. I have spoken of all these things before in my other works, as also of the inroads the *Persians*, the *Saracens*, the *Sclavonians*, and other of the *Barbarious* Nations made upon the Empire. But as I said at first, I shall make it appear to be caused only by the ill conduct of the Emperor : He gave a vast sum of Money to clap up a Peace with *Cosroes* ; and when he had done, by a stupid piece of obstinacy he brake it again, having used all his art to draw to his Party *Alamandare*, and the *Huns*, who were in alliance with
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the *Persians*, which I suppose I have described elsewhere well enough.

About the same time when he had kindled this War, and given occasion to such Seditions as would be the ruine of the Empire, and all to enrich himself, and fill his own Coffers, by filling his Dominions with slaughter and Blood, to compleat their destruction, he made use of this following invention.

In the *Roman* Empire there are several Sects of Christians (differing from the truth) which are called Hereticks, particularly the *Montanists*, *Sabbatians*, and others, all of them Hetrodox. *Justinian* commanded, That all of them should change their Belief ; and to that, he compelled them, partly by threats, and partly by making their Children incapable of inheriting from their Fathers. In the Temple of these Hereticks (and especially in the Temples of the *Arians*) the riches was incredibly great, for there is no comparison betwixt the wealth of the Senate, or any other famous Body in the whole Empire, and that which belongs to them. There was scarce one of the consecrated Vessels, but were either of Gold or of Silver, adorned with great numbers of Precious Stones : The Priests, and inferior Ministers, had their Houses and Lands, and Revenues in all parts. In short, they wanted nothing that might be had, being people to whom the former Emperors had been always indulgent ; they maintained several of the true Religion as their Servants, imployed them as they were Artists.

Justinian

Justinian seized upon the riches of all these Temples, and possessed himself thereof, to the utter ruine of many of them. He had likewise his Agents abroad, who went from one place to another, and obliged all they found to change their Religion; at which, the Countrey people being offended, as at an act of impiety, opposed themselves against those Agents; but they had their revenge, and caused many of them to be slain. Some there were of them, who out of a deplorable superstition made away themselves, while the rest, in great throngs, fled out of the Countrey. The *Montanists* in *Phrygia*, betook themselves to their Churches, and putting fire to them, burnt themselves, their families, and all that they had; so that from that time, nothing was to be seen in the *Roman Empire*, but massacres and desolations, and people quitting their Houses. The Edicts of the Emperor put the *Samaritans* of *Palestine* into no less disorder; whereupon those where I was in *Cesaria*, and in other Towns, thinking it weakness and indiscretion, to expose themselves for so dangerous an opinion, quitted their Profession, and were called *Christians*; by which means they avoided their destruction, which otherwise would have been infallible; whilest others, whose Conscience was better informed, continued stedfast in their Faith: But a good party of the *Samaritans* (dissatisfied that they had been forced from the Religion of their Forefathers) a while after became *Manicheans* and *Politheists*. In the mean time, the *Peasants* took

Arms

Arms against the Emperor, and having made choice of *Julian*, the Son of *Sabarus*, to command them, they gave Battle to *Justinians* Army; for some time the Victory was doubtful, and a good while they fought before it could be known on which side it would incline, but at length the *Peasants* were defeated, and most part of them slain, and their General *Julian* among the rest; by report there were near 100000 Men killed upon the place. The greatest of the loss fell among the *Christians*; for though they had no Men left to Cullivate their Lands, which were the fruitfulest of the World, yet they were forced to pay annual Taxes and Impositions to the Emperor, to a great value, which were extorted from them by all manner of cruelty.

After this, he turned his designs against the *Gentiles*, killed several of them, and dispossessed the rest of their estates: Some of them there were, who pretended to embrace the Christian Religion, to avoid their torments, and to preserve their estates; but they were afterwards surprised in the exercise of their Idolatry, and in the impiety of their Sacrifices. I shall now say what he did against the Christians. After this by particular Proclamation, he prohibited the infamous and unnatural use of Boys, causing to be apprehended not only them who had been guilty since the publication of the said Law, but those who had been suspected of it of old, and punished them severely without any Form of Justice, or Legal Process: He condemned

denied them upon the testimony of one Witness, who for the most part was some Child, or some Servant which had been suborned against their Master; and when he had got one of those, he desired no farther evidence. Those who were convicted of this crime, were exposed to all the mockery in the World, having their Privities cut off in a most cruel and ignominious manner. At first they acted not with the same extremity against them all, the heat of their fury extended itself more particularly against those who were of the faction of the *Prasinians*, extraordinarily rich, or in the displeasure of the Emperor. He could not endure Astrologers, but appointed the Magistrates (deputed for the punishment of Felons) to ride up and down upon their Camels thorow the City of *Constantinople*, and cause them to be beaten upon their shoulders with Rods, and exposing them publicly as a spectacle of contempt, though they were antient; and in other things, very honest men, to be reproached with nothing, but that having such knowledge in the Stars, they should remain in that Town.

The Tyranny of these Actions, caused great numbers of all sort of people to forsake their own Countreys, and betake themselves, not only into the Countreys of the *Barbarians*, but into such Nations as were at greatest distance from the Dominion of *Rome*. In every Province, and in every Town, great numbers were to be seen from several Countreys, which had been harassed by their Friends, with as much cruelty,

as if they had been their most implacable Enemies. And this course did *Justinian* and *Theodora* take to dispoil of their goods and estates, the greatest Persons in *Constantinople*, and all the rest of the Cities; and for the Senators, they were treated as I shall tell.

There was one of them called *Zeno*, Senator at *Constantinople*, and Grandchild to *Anthemius* (who had formerly had that Empire,) this *Zeno* they chose on purpose to make him Governor of *Egypt*. This Governor, without the least jealousy in the World, caused the richest of his Goods to be put on Board that Vessel which was intended for his own transportation, and deferred his departure for some days, to put a Board a prodigious quantity of Silver, Jewels, Plate enriched with Emeralds, and other pretious Stones of a very considerable value. The Emperor having notice of all, corrupted some of *Zeno's* principal Servants, and by their means having caused all this vast wealth to be conveyed privately out of the Ship, he made them set it on fire in the Hold, and pretend to their Master that it hapned by accident, and had consumed all his great treasure which he intended for *Egypt*: Not long after *Zeno* died, and the Emperor seized upon the remainder of his estate, producing a fraudulent Will which all the World knew to be forged. By the same artifice he got possession of the estates of *Tatian*, and *Demasthenes*, and *Hilarus*, the three principal Men in the Senat. There were many others likewise, whose Heirs he made himself, not by any

any real Will, but by counterfeit conveyances : As for example, he made himself Heir to *Denis* (whose estate was near *Liban*,) and of *John*, the Son of *Basil*, the Governor of *Edeffa*, whom *Bellisarius* delivered against his will in hostage to the *Persians*, as I have mentioned in my other Books. After he had been some time with the *Persians*, *Cosroes* would not discharge him without a ranome, pretending *Bellisarius* had not performed according to the Articles, upon which, the said *John* was given in pledge : Whereupon his Grandfather being then living, he treated for his redemption, and had prepared Two thousand livres of Silver, in order thereunto. The Emperor having advertisement, and that the Money was conveyed, and lay ready at *Dara*, would not suffer it to be paid, but objected, That it was not to be permitted that the *Barbarians* should go away with so much Money of the *Romans*; and whilst that was in controversy, *John* died of a disease of which he had been languishing a long time. When he was dead, the Governor of *Dara* (a Creature of the Emperors) counterfeited a writing from the said *John*, by which the Emperor was made Heir to all his estate, and assured the World it was his last Will and Testament : But besides these false Wills, and counterfeit Conveyances, it is scarce credible, how many people gave him their estates freely and *bona fide*. Before the Sedition broke out, by degrees he took away their whole estate from the Family of *Victorinus*, which was reported very rich : But when those

those troubles began, he caused most of the Senators Goods to be sold, and of all descending from *Patrician* Families, he took the greatest part, and appropriated it to himself, leaving (as a false image of his clemency) the Tenth only to such as were in possession, and that only to continue them liable to his Taxes : For which, those poor people were used with great cruelty by his Officers and Collectors, and much dejected at the sadness of their life, which was so unquiet to them, they would have chose to have been put to death, which would have delivered them from a thousand calamities.

Hence it is, that these unmerciful Princes do not fall into my thoughts (or any bodies else of my opinion) as Men, but as evil Spirits, and pernicious Plagues, acting by common consent towards the destruction of all people, and driving on with uncontrollable fury, to ruine the whole World. In short, though of late ages, several persons have made themselves terrible, and were naturally of that humor, or brought to it by the consequence of affairs; as by the desolation of some Countrey, the destroying of some Town, or the depopulating some Province, yet there was never any went so near the subverting, not only the Government of the Empire, but the whole oeconomy of the World, and the species of mankind, as *Justinian* and *Theodora*: It is true, *Fortune* contributed to their designs, and added much to the miseries which were endured. For at the same time these happened so many ill accidents as Earthquakes, Sick-

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nesses, and Inundation of Rivers, that it was not unlikely, but what was done by the Emperor and Empress, proceeded as well as the rest, from some supernatural agent. Moreover it was reported that *Justinians* Mother should often declare to the principal of her Kinred and Friends, That the said *Justinian* was not the Son of her Husband *Sabbatius*, nor of any other Man; but that before she was with child, she was visited by a Spirit, present to her touch, but not sight; which Spirit had coition with her, performed the office of her Husband, and vanished like a dream. Some of *Justinians* Bed-chamber, whose courage and confidence were greater then the rest, affirmed, That as they lay in his Chamber, about midnight, instead of him, they saw a most deformed spirit in his place. There was one among them, who maintained, That he saw *Justinian* rise out of his Bed (where he never lay long) and walk about the Chamber; and that in a short time, his head disappeared, and yet the Trunk walked on; and that whilst he was in an amaze, and ready to have distrusted his own eyes, of which, he began to be jealous, he saw the head return, and joyn it self to the body. Another declared, That as he was in the presence of *Justinian*, he saw the head of that Prince change on a sudden into a mass, and confused lump of flesh, where he could not distinguish eyes, or nose, or any other marks of a face: This I write not of my own knowledge, but I had it from persons who assured me it was true, and they had seen it with

with their own eyes. It was reported, That there was a Fryer of a most exemplary life, and of great eminence for it, who at the solicitation of his Brethren in the same Monastery, came to *Constantinople* with design of speaking to the Emperor for the ease of the Neighborhood, which was undone by his tyranny and oppression. That when he arrived, he entred into the Palace, and the Emperors Apartment, with as much ease as he could desire; but as soon as he came near his person, he started from him, and returned to his Monastery in great hast and confusion, without being able to answer the Ushers and other Officers who pressed him to stay, and demanded what it was he feared. But being questioned by the Monks, he told them, *That he saw Lucifer sitting upon the Throne of the Empire, and that he had not power to accost, or say any thing to him.* And indeed, who would not have taken for an evil spirit, or at least for a fury, a Man, who though he loved more Women then any Man living, and that to the very height of lasciviousness and debauchery, yet he scarce eat, or drank, or slept at any time; but having tasted and sipped of what was brought to the Table, he walked about the Palace all the night after.

As to *Theodora*, those who had lain with her when she was a Comedian, declared, That whilst they were in Bed with her in the night, there came spirits into the Room, and frighted them away. There was a young Wench which danced well, belonging to the *Venetes* of *An-*

tioch, and called the *Macedonian*, who having great power with *Justin*, she writ to her, and made her an instrument in the death of many of the principal Officers in the East, and in the confiscation of their Goods. This *Macedonian* hearing *Theodora* complaining at her return from *Egypt* and *Africk*, of the ill treatment she had received from *Hecebalus*, and of a loss she had sustained in her journey, of a considerable sum of Money; telling her by way of consolation, *That Fortune, as she had taken them away, might, when she pleased, return them in greater plenty.* *Theodora* replied, *That she was not troubled in the least; for the night before she had seen a vision, which had bid her not concern her self, and told her, That as soon as she should come to Constantinople, she should be admitted to the Emperors Bed; and that by assistance which she should receive, she should marry him, and be put into possession of as much wealth as she could desire.* And this was the common report upon that subject.

Justinian (though he was as I have described) was of so easie access, and so civil in all his receptions, that no man was ever denied to speak with him; nor did he seem ever provoked or discomposed, when any person failed in their respects toward him, either by word or deed. The ruine and misery which he was preparing for other people, never made any alteration in him. He never expressed any Passion, nor the least resentment against those he had destined to destruction; but with a countenance peaceable and serene; and a voice without any commoti-

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on, he appointed the murders of an infinite multitude of innocent persons; the sacking of several Towns, and confiscation of Estates. In a word, by his looks no man but would have taken him for the gentlest, the most affable, and best natured Man in the World. But if any one come to implore his mercy, or to expostulate in behalf of one that was oppressed, then it was he would be angry, his colour rise, and his indignation against his subjects appear. He favored the Priests, who tormented their Neighbors; he gave any man thanks, who possessed himself of his Neighbors estate, and believed he did an act that was highly meritorious. When any controversy was brought before him, he believed himself bound in Conscience to decide it in favor of the Defendant, especially, if he had invaded the others estate, under pretence, That it belonged to the Church; in that case he thought he could not be unjust, let him do what he would, provided the cause went for the Ecclesiasticks: He himself gave to the Church, several Lands that he had usurped from other people (whether the lawful Proprietors were living or dead) to cover his impiety under the mask of devotion, and procure that the right owners should never be restored to them again; and many murders he committed, under the pretence of Piety and Religion. He endeavored likewise with great industry, That all people under his Dominion should be uniform in Matters of Religion, in order to which, he put many a man to death, as not believing it

homicide, to kill any of a persuasion contrary to his own. In short, he took so much delight in the destruction of his People, that he was perpetually at *Theodora* not to suffer any opportunity to escape her, but rather to set her Brains a work to invent new ; for having the same Passions, their Actions were the same, their Conduct the same, and their Wickedness the same, though they pretended great difference betwixt themselves ; but it was only to set their subjects at difference.

Justinians humor was as uncertain as the Wind ; it was to be turned which way one pleased, only he was not to be turned from doing mischief, nor kept from showing most infamous avarice. He was a great lover of flattery, and loved them highly, who persuaded him he should be taken up into the Heavens one day, and traverse the Air, and the Celestial Spheres. *Tribonian* was with him upon a time, and told him, *That he was in great fear least he should be rapt up suddenly into the Heavens, when he little thought of it, and all, for his singular Piety* : And the poor Emperor was so weak, as to believe, That that flattery (or rather mockery) had something in it that might be true.

If he had had experience of any mans virtue, he would be sure to discommend him ever after, and to represent him a mischievous and perfidious man ; and yet he had no sooner spoke ill of a man, but he praised him immediately, passing inconsiderately from one extremum to another, because the Characters which he gave, did

did not many times consist with what he desired other people should believe. His impressions of hatred or love, I suppose, I have sufficiently described in what I have said of his actions. His anger he pushed on to the highest extremity ; and when once he was provoked, he was ever implacable. His friendship was as unconstant, as his malice was obstinate ; he put several to death who were his Creatures, but was never reconciled where he had once taken a Pique. He delivered up into the hands of his Wife, or some third person, those who were thought the greatest in his favor, and to whom he had given the greatest testimony of his kindness, to be sacrificed, and murdered with torments, though they would never have deserved death, but for their kindness to him. In effect, *Justinian* was constant in nothing but cruelty and covetousness, and those two good qualities were not to be removed.

The Empress, when he scrupled what she desired, would wheedle him with hopes of large sums of Money from the business which she recommended. He made no difficulty to enact Laws, and to break them if it were to his profit, not judging of affairs according to the Laws which he had established, but according as the bribes were more or less, that he was to receive. When he plundered his subjects, and took away their Goods, though he knew he had no right ; had suborned people to swear against them, or forged fraudulent Wills ; he thought he did nothing amiss.

During the Reign of this Prince, there was no established Faith or Religion ; no Contracts or Agreements, of which, any Man could be secure. When he committed an affair to any of his Friends, he, who in the shortest time, ruined the persons he was employed to destroy, and returned him the most spoil, he was the welcome man to him, as having acted most unto his designs, and private instructions : But those who were tender, and unwilling to do any man mischief, those he abhorred when they came back, and not enduring that old merciful way which favored too much of the old *Roman*, (which he used to call lazy and phlegmatick) he never preferred them to any employment afterwards.

In compliance with him, many persons affected to seem bad, and leud in their conversation, though their temper and judgments were quite contrary to what they professed. He pretended to forget what Contracts he had made, though they were sealed and signed some of them with his own hand, and thought it very honorable. And this he did, not only with his own Subjects, but with the Enemies of the Empire, as I have delivered at large in my other Books.

He never could endure to be idle ; he never eat or drunk as much as he could, but touched the meat, which they set before him, with the end of his fingers, and then bid them take away, for he had eaten enough : Besides, the violence of his nature obliging him to be more fierce and insatiable in his business, he did not

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eat some time in two days and two nights, especially in *Easter* week, in which he fasted two whole days, without any thing but Water, and wilde Grapes ; and without sleeping above an hour, imploying the rest of his time in perpetual walking. There is no doubt, but if he had used his faculties to do good, the very parts wherewith Nature had endued him, would have raised the Empire to the highest degree of grandeur and felicity. But he perverted them quite, and imployed them wholly to the destruction of his subjects, and the ruine of their estates, applying all his watchings, and diligences, and labor, to augment the misery and desolation of his people, which was the more easie for him to compass, by how much his wit and invention was mighty quick in forging of crimes, and as prompt in punishing them when he had done : So that the good qualities, both in his body and mind, were of no use, but to make the people more miserable. At his first advancement, he had nothing of the Majesty of an Emperor ; on the contrary, he framed himself more to the habit, discourse, and manner of the *Barbarians*. When he was to return an answer in writing, he did not commit it to the Quæstor, as formerly was the way ; but he delivered it himself by word of mouth, though he spake his own language, as ill as a stranger. Afterward the people met in the Court of Justice with several impeachments, but no Judge was to be found to take cognizance of them. Secretaries of State were of the ancient-
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est Offices in the Empire, yet he spoiled them quite; for he writ all himself, even to the private Sentences which the Magistrates were to give in the smaller Towns, leaving none of them at liberty to do any Man Justice thorow all his Dominions. He assumed all to himself out of a vain piece of arrogancy, and observed so good order in all determinations; that when he had heard one party, he gave his sentence, and obliged them both to acquiesce; which he did, not out of any conviction or opinion that his Sentence was just, but for some advantage to himself, which was generally known; for his covetousness had for a long time taken away his shame, and left him easie to be corrupted by the presents of any Man.

It often hapned, that the Decrees of the Senate, and the Edicts of the Emperor, did interfere and clash; for the Senate had but the shadow of an Authority without the freedom of giving their advice, or observing the rules of honesty and vertue; serving only to fill up their seats, least the antient form of Government should be totally destroyed; yet no body durst murmur in the least.

But though their Power was insignificant, the Emperor and *Theodora* examined all things themselves, so that every thing passing by their orders; if any Man suspected his Cause, he had no more to do, but to make a present to the Emperor, and he should be sure to have it dispatched, how contrary soever it was to the Laws and Statutes that were formerly established:

ed: Again, if any Man desired the reviving of any Law which he had revoked, he restored it without any difficulty, as done in War, when one recovers what he lost, by what means he can, be it in whose hands it will; so that in his Decrees there was nothing steady or just, all was full of error and uncertainty, and the Scales of Justice inclined not to that side where the right and propriety was, but where the presents were greatest; which were carried publickly into the Court where the controversie was to be decided, to be paid by way of advance, some time to the Judge, and some time to the other Magistrates; yet it was not without trouble, that the Mediators found time to present the Petitions of their Clients to the Emperor, or give him the true state of their affairs; for they were forced to make use of many false accusations, and bribe him well into the bargain. Being easily overreached, they applied to their several parties, and not acquainting them what had passed betwixt them and the Emperor, they drew from them vast sums of Money, and no body durst to oppose. The very Soldiers of the Guards which were to attend the Judges in the Court of the Palace, forced from them what judgments they pleased; so that no body was kept to his duty, but every man followed the impulse of his own fancy as his passion inspired. All Officers had lost their authority and places, and their very names were not suffered to be continued in their Registers. In a word, the *Roman* Empire was ordered as it had been governed

verned by a leud child : But I shall forbear speaking of it any further, as I propos'd in the beginning of this Book.

The first that advis'd the Emperor to this corruption in the Administration of Justice, was one *Leo*, a Native of *Cilicia*, a Man of prodigious avarice, and the greatest flatterer in the World. He was excellent at insinuation, and wrought himself strangely into the favors of the ignorant, and especially of *Justinian*, by whose imprudence, and the assistance of his own persuasions, he prevail'd, and put him into a way of ruining his Subjects.

This was the first who put that way into his mind, and when it was once tried, it was quickly established, and never after laid aside, but increased to that point, That if any Man had a desire to overcome in any Suit, he had no more to do but to find out *Leo*, give him half of his pretensions to be divided with the Emperor, and his business was done before he went out of the Palace. By these means *Leo* got together a vast sum of Money, besides a large quantity of Lands, and all at the expence of the State, which he utterly destroyed. Contracts were not binding by any legal Obligation, by any Promise made, by any Writing given under Hand and Seal, by any penalty agreed upon, nor by any other security that could be given, but by Money, to be presented to *Leo*, and the Emperor : And that way also, was not always certain, for *Leo* would take bribes on both sides, and when he did so, he cheated one of them

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(no matter which) without any remorse or shame, believing it no dishonor to him to affront, or injure any Man, so it turned to his profit ; and as he was, such was *Justinian*.

Theodora was so hardned in her inclinations to cruelty, that she never offended by persuasion of other people ; but what she fancied herself, she pursued with all imaginable impetuosity, and used all endeavors to bring it about. Never any body interceded for the pardon of any man that was condemned ; so well were they satisfied, that neither length of time, cruelty of the punishment, the humblest and most importunate Prayers, nor the fear of Gods judgments were sufficient to mollify her heart, or abate one jot of her fury. It was never seen, that any one who had once offended her, was ever forgiven, no not after they were dead ; for the child that survived, inherited the displeasure of the Empress, with the Lands of his Father ; and when he died, left it afterwards to his Sons. She was easily enraged, and that rage (not being to be withstood) was the loss of many a man. She had not so much care of her body, as of her pleasure ; and through her wanton mind, practis'd it with a tired appetite, when it was unnecessary. She rose very early in the morning to go into her Bath, where having continued a good time, she eat her breakfast, and went again to sleep. At dinner and supper there was no sort of meat but she would have, and that in abundance. She slept much, and often ; in the day time, she slept till night, and in the night,

night, till day : And in this irregularity, she believed the little time which she had, was sufficient to dispatch all affairs which concerned the whole Government of the Empire. If the Emperor employed any man, without *Theodora's* advice, the poor man was sure to die in disgrace, when he was once out of office.

Justinian was a very proper Man to expedite business, not only for his continual watchings (as I said before) but for the temper of his mind, and his easiness of access, which was so great ; he gave people liberty to come to him, which he did not know, and that, not only to speak to him, but to converse with him in private. With the Empress it was quite contrary, For to her the greatest Lords could not be admitted, but with much attendance, and a great deal of trouble : When at length she vouchsafed to come to them, she came to them into a little close Chamber, where they were crammed together like so many Footmen, which she did to avert or prevent any evil designs. They received her all standing, and holding up their heads, with their faces uncovered, to be surveyed by the Eunuchs, who were going and coming all the while. Some indeed she admitted into her Chamber, but it was very rarely, and after they had waited sufficiently : When they did come in, they presently withdrew (by way of respect) having first kissed her feet ; but they durst not deliver any Petition, nor begin any Discourse, till she vouchsafed to command them. The Senate went together most ignominiously and slavishly

slavishly to kiss her feet ; and the *Roman* Empire lost much of its magnanimity and splendor, partly by the easiness of *Justinian*, and partly by the insolence of *Theodora*, who thrust herself into all affairs, and obstructed their success.

This difference there was betwixt their humors, but in covetousness and murder they agreed well enough : Neither of them knew what it was to speak truth, but on the contrary, both of them were great inventors of lies. If any one was in disfavor with *Theodora*, and had committed any fault, how little soever, from that very time, she would accuse them of something or other, which perhaps never came into their thoughts, and aggravating it so highly, That she would charge others with confederacy, and never rest till she had delivered them up into the hands of Justice ; and when the Judges met, they knew well enough that their sentence must be accommodated to the cruelty of *Theodora*. Judgment being given and executed, and all the goods seized (let the party be as great as he will) she caused him to be drubbed, and afterwards either banished him, or put him to death. On the other side, if any of her favorites transgressed, and were guilty of assassination, or any other crime (either in raillery, or by way of threat) she took off the Informers, and staid the process. She had a way of turning things of greatest importance into ridicule, mocking and drolling upon them, as if they were in a Play ; and she acting them as formerly upon the Stage.

Stage. There was a person of quality; (who had been along time (and was grown old) in several charges and employments) but his name I shall forbear; as being unwilling to do him that disgrace, as to leave it, to posterity upon Record, for so dishonorable an action. This Gentleman, I say, not being able to recover a good round sum of Money, which he had lent to a friend of the Empresse's, addressed himself to her for Justice, and that she would be a means he might be restored to his right. *Theodora* to keep up the interest of her friend, commanded her Eunuchs to encompass the *Patrician* when he came; to observe what she did, and second her singing whenever she should begin. When the *Patrician* was introduced into her Chamber, he threw himself down at her feet (as the custom was) and with tears in his eyes, began his Harangue.

Madam, said he, *The Condition of a Patrician is more then ordinarily miserable, when reduced to want; for what would draw upon other people pitty and compassion, brings contempt upon a Gentleman, and makes his calamity the greater: When other people are in necessity, and acquaint their creditors therewith, their misery makes them less miserable; but when a Gentleman is in distress, and cannot pay his debts, he is ashamed to own it; and if he can prevail with himself to do that, who will believe him? The World will never believe we are poor, and if they do believe it, farewell our dignity and reputation. This Madam is my case, I owe Money, and I have Money owing me; for my own*

own part, I would cheat no body, it would not be suitable to my quality; but my debtors are not of my mind, for not having had my birth nor education, they are not so careful of paying, but seek out all ways to defraud me.

My most humble request therefore is, That you would vouchsafe me your favor in so just a cause, and rescue me from the misfortunes with which I am incumbered, and by no fault or provocation of my own.

This was his Speech to the Empress, who instead of answering, began to sing, *O Patrician, you have a very great rupture*, and all her Eunuchs joyned with her in the Song. The Senator persisting in his Supplications, and adding new Reasons to his former, *Theodora* replied in the same Dialect, and her Quire of Eunuchs struck in with the *Chorus*, and made up the Consort. At length the poor Gentleman, much afflicted at so cruel a piece of derision, made his reverence to the Empress as was usual, and retired.

A good part of the year, *Theodora* resided in the Suburbs upon the Sea-shore, and most commonly in that part called *Herroteum*, where her servants and attendants, which followed her person endured great incommodity; not so much by the dearth of Provisions, but by the dangers which they frequently incurred in passing the streight, by the great Tides, sudden Inundations, or the surprises of Sea-monsters, which are frequent in that place: But they considered not these dangers, if they could but add any

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thing to the divertisement of their Mistress, and enjoy the delights and pleasures of her Court. I shall now conclude my Relation of her practises, to destroy such as she had any prejudice against, that I may not seem to have undertaken a work without end.

After *Amalasontha* had laid down, and renounced the Government of the *Gothish* Affairs, and had (as I have said in my other Books) expressed an inclination to another kind of life, and to come, and live privately at *Constantinople*. *Theodora* considering the great extraction of that Princess, her quality as Queen, her singular Beauty, her excellent Wit, and above all, her admirable Wisdom; she did not question, but such extraordinary qualifications, would have some effect (to her diminution) upon the unconstant nature of her Husband; but she discovered nothing of her apprehension, till she had taken her measures aright.

Being assured of one of her Creatures called *Peter*, she perswaded *Justinian* to send him Ambassador to *Amalasontha*; the Emperor, when the said Ambassador took his leave, in order to his passage into *Italy*, gave him such Orders, as I have mentioned in my other Books; but the Empress (of whom, at that time, I durst not speak what I knew to be true) gave him particularly in charge, That above all things, he should contrive, and procure the death of *Amalasontha*, and promised him great rewards, if he compassed the business. The Ambassador, with all diligence pursued his voyage into

into *Italy*, incited by the great hopes he had of riches or preferment (for men are not naturally prone to mischief, without Foreign temptation) as soon as he was arrived, he obliged *Theodora* to kill *Amalasontha*, but I do not know upon what pretence.

After so great service, *Peter* was advanced to very great Offices, and enjoyed them with great authority, but with the hatred and detestation of the whole World: And this trick *Theodora* plaid the poor *Amalasontha*.

Justinian had a Secretary of his Closet, called *Priscus*, a *Paphlagonian* born, and a Man very eminent and exact in all kinds of villany; by his conduct and humor, he was a likely Man to insinuate with his Master; and he did it so effectually, he became the only favorite. The Emperor made no question, but the friendship had been mutual, insomuch, that in a short time he got together unjustly an incredible estate. The Empress not being able to brook his insolence and pride, to ruine him, began to accuse him to the Emperor, and charge him with crimes; but not succeeding in that, she caused him to be surpris'd and sent away suddenly in a ship, when he little thought of it; and having ordered him to be shaved, she forced him to turn Priest: In the mean time, the Emperor carried himself as he had been privy to the plot, and did not so much as inquire into what part of the World poor *Priscus* was gone, nay, I am perswaded he never thought of him after, unless it was, when he seized a sum of Money of his,

his, which he had left behind him. *Theodora* had a suspicion of one of her Servants called *Arzobinde*, who was a stranger, but from his very youth had given great marks of an excellent disposition, and had been made Master of her Wardrobe. To punish a crime, of which she imagined he was guilty, she caused him to be beaten with Rods with extraordinary cruelty, though (as was reported) she had a great kindness for him; but what became of him afterwards, I cannot tell, nor I believe, any body else. For when *Theodora* designed to have any thing kept secret, to conceal it from the knowledge and memory of man, she so threatened and frightened the instruments in the action (which never any Tyrant had done before) that they never durst mention it to the very nearest of their Relations: On the other side, there was nothing done by those, for whom she had a prejudice, but she knew it immediately; for there was not a considerable Family, but she had spies in it, who told her not only the discourse, but the very words which every man spoke; and when she had a mind to punish any one, and no body know it, if he were a *Patrician*, she sent for him privately, and delivered him up to some single person of her Confidants, whom she had selected to be the instrument of her vengeance, with instruction to carry him to the remotest part of the Empire. Having received her commands, the Officer bound the poor man, muffled his face, and then putting him on a Shipboard in a dark night, he conveyed him

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according to directions, where he delivered him to another with Orders, to see him kept safe and close, till the Empress should think fit to commiserate him; and there after he had led a miserable life a long time, the continuation of his sufferings, did many times put an end to them.

There was a young Gentleman called *Bassien*, (of illustrious extraction, and of the *Prasina* faction) who in his discourse and raillery, having been too bold with the Empress, knowing she was incensed, fled into the Church of Saint *Michael* the Archangel: But as soon as she had notice, she sent the Pretor of the People, who seized upon him, not upon the score of his lawfulness with the Empress, but as one that was guilty of Buggery. At the same time, in which he was ravished from the Church, the Officers put him to such intolerable torments, that the People assembled in multitudes together, not being able to see under such insupportable tortures, a person of his youth and quality, whose person had been brought up so delicately, and so unaccustomed to such barbarous sufferings, especially when being ready to die, he cried out, and with grievous shrieks, implored their compassion: But the unmerciful Woman persisted in her cruelty, and caused his punishment to be redoubled, till at last his privy parts being cut off, he died under their hands (though he was neither tried, nor condemned) and his estate was confiscated to the Emperor: By degrees the fury of this *Megara* grew so great, that when

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she resolved upon the destruction of any Man, neither the Sanctuary of the Church, the intercession of the people, nor any other contrivance in the World, was sufficient to preserve him. She took a pique against another called *Diogenes*, born in *Constantinople*; and in no less favor with the Emperor, then with the rest of mankind; being of the *Prasinian* party, she determined his ruine, and having suborned two of his servants, she caused them to accuse him of Sodomy. But that being an affair which could not be clandestinely punished, and he a person of dignity and imployment, several considerable men being deputed to the examination of the business, they rejected the testimony of his servants as incapable of giving evidence, both in respect of their condition, and the minority of their age. The Empress offended with their proceedings, caused one of *Diogenes* Confidants, called *Theodorus*, to be committed to one of her Dungeons, and would have perswaded him to have deposed against his friend; to which end, she made use of flatteries, prayers, threats, and tortures. but finding none of them succeeded, she commanded his head to be bound hard about with a Cord, not doubting therewith but to have twisted out his eyes, but the poor Gentleman chose rather to endure whatever could be inflicted, then to tell a lie; which though it might have saved himself, must have ruined his friend. Hereupon the Judges acquitted him, as not finding any proof sufficient to condemn him,

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This was the cruelty which she exercised upon these people, for I have spoke before of the manner in which she treated *Bellisarius*, *Photius*, and *Busez*. There were two *Cilicians* of the faction of the *Venetes*, who in a mutiny attempted the person of *Callinicus*, Governor of the second *Cilicia*, and killed the Master of his Horse (who endeavored to defend him) in his presence, and before all the people; being convicted of this, and several other murders, he caused them to be apprehended, and their heads cut off as they deserved. Which piece of Justice coming to the ears of *Theodora*, to show her passion for the party of the *Venetes*, she caused the Governor to be crucified in the same place where the Malefactors had been executed, though he was innocent, and had that office. The Emperor pretended to be much concerned, pitied his misfortune, and with tears in his eyes, complained heavily of *Theodora*, and gave out a thousand threats against the instruments in that action; yet he made no scruple to seize upon his estate, and appropriate it to himself. *Theodora* likewise caused all the common Women to be punished, banishing Five hundred of them at one time, for prostituting themselves at a certain place on the other side of the *Bosphorus*; and having clapped them into several Nunneries, she constrained them to an honest course of life in spite of their teeth; but some of them threw themselves down a Rock, and preferred a voluntary death, before a life so contrary to their inclinations.

G 4

There

There were at *Constantinople* two young Sisters, not only illustrious by the Consulship of their Grandfather and Father, but by a long descent of Nobility, as being of one of the chief Families in the Senate. These two young Ladies having lost their Husbands betimes, devoted themselves to perpetual Widowhood. *Theodora* abhorring their vertue and pious way of living, chose out from among the dregs of the people, two the most execrable persons that could be found, and designed them to be their Husbands. Having notice of the Empreſſes intention, apprehending she would force them, they fled into the Church of Saint *Sophia*, and entring into the holy Bath, they held fast by the Fountain: But the Empreſs plagued them so many ways, and kept them in such want of necessary things, that they were constrained to marry them, to deliver themselves from their distress: And in this manner *Theodora* shewed her reverence to the Sanctuaries; and the two Gentlewomen who had been courted by several persons of their own quality, were married to two fellows, poor, miserable, infinitely below their condition, and in the presence of their Mother, who was by, weeping and lamenting all the while. It is true, afterwards *Theodora* abhorring what she had done, endeavored to make them amends by advancing their Husbands to the detriment of the publick: But all that would do no good; they were incapable of consolation, seeing their Husbands act with such insupportable cruelty against the Emperors subjects; for *Theodora*

regarded

regarded not the dignity of the Magistrate, the interest of the State, nor any other consideration in the World; so she could but fill her coffers, and satisfy her insatiable humor.

When she was a Comedian, *Theodora* was got with child by a person of her acquaintance, but perceived it not till it was late; after she had tried all ways to make her self miscarry, and none of them succeeded by reason she was too far gone; she troubled her self no farther with these unprofitable remedies, but was fairly brought to Bed. But her gallant understanding she was highly offended that her lying in had hindered her from getting of Money, knowing the temper of the Mother, and being in some fear for the life of the Child, he took it, named it *John*, and carried it with him into *Arabia*, whither of a long time he had resolved to retire. When *John* was grown up, his Father fell sick, and finding he should die, he told his son who was his Mother, what was his fortune, and in few minutes departed. *John* having performed his last duty to his Father, not long after removed to *Constantinople*, discovered the business to some of the Officers of the Empreſs, and intreated them to introduce him to his Mother. The Officers not imagining, in the least, she could do any thing that was inhumane against him, represented to her that her son was in Town. The wicked Woman fearing it might come to the ears of the Emperor, caused him to be brought to her, and having received him very kindly before those who presented him, with-

without any hesitation, she delivered him into the hands of one of her executioners ; but what became of the poor Creature, no body could tell, for he was never seen since, no not when his Mother was dead.

Under the Reign of this cruel Princess, there was scarce a Woman which did not lie under some scandal, and indeed most of them were as bad as they were reported, having all possible liberty to transgress against their Husbands, and come off always unpunished as oft as they were prosecuted for adultery : Their way was to apply to the Empress, who would be sure to take care their sentence should be quite contrary to what it ought, the Women sent home acquitted of their crimes, their Husbands taken into custody for false accusations, which they were unable to prove, and condemned to pay sometimes twice as much as ever they had with them ; and where that was not to be had, corporal punishment was inflicted, and they continued not only in prison, but in irons, as long as they lived ; which to consummate their sorrows, they were permitted to see their unchast Wives, in the embraces of their rivals, who as a reward for their crimes, received offices and preferments from the Empress. Hereupon many who feared that kind of usage, and had no fondness for her stripes, and her tortures, connived at the incontinence of their Wives ; and that they might not be publicly surpris'd, they gave them all opportunity they could desire.

Theodora

Theodora was grown to that authority in the Empire, that alone she created all the Prelates, and Magistrates, and having absolute power in her hands, she managed it so well, there was not in all the Offices of the Empire, one good Man, whose Conscience would not suffer him to obey her in her pernicious designs. She ordered it so, that all marriages were of her making ; not a Man had the choice of his own Wife, but every one married, not (as the very *Barbarians* do) her he liked best, but her the Empress was pleased to command. Many times on the wedding night, she would go her self in person, tear out the Bride out of Bed, and turn away the poor Bridegroom, and meerly upon pretence it was done without her knowledge. This was her practice with several people, particularly with *Leontius* the Referendary, and *Saturnin* who had married the Widow of *Hermogenes*, who died not long after she was married.

Saturnin had a young Neice, free, of an honorable Family, and at age for a Husband, and this Lady, *Cirillus* her Father gave *Saturnin* in marriage after the death of *Hermogenes* his Widow. The wedding cloaths were bought, and all things prepared, when on a sudden *Theodora* caused *Saturnin* to be seized and clapped into irons, and afterwards in spite of his tears, his complaints, and intercessions, she forced him to marry *Chrisomale*, a Dancer, and one of the commonest Courtisans in Town ; for *Theodora* had no greater favorites then *Chrisomale* and *Indare*,

Indare, who having been formerly her Companions upon the Stage, she had made them her Colleagues, and cheif Ministers in Matters of State.

Saturnin having lain the first night with his new Wife, and found her otherwife then he expected, discovered to one of his Confidants, that he had married a person who was no Maid; his complaint being brought to the Emperess, she caused him to be secured by his own servants, whipped like a School Boy, upbraiding him all the time with his sawciness with his Wife, called him perjured Rascal, and having seen his backside well torn with the Whip; she advised him to keep his Tongue in his Mouth, and not talk with that liberty for the future.

In my other Books, I have already declared the punishment which she inflicted upon *John* of *Cappadocia*, revenging upon him the injuries he had done privately to her, and not any thing that he had acted publickly against the State; for she passed by a thousand greater Delinquents then he, and never medled with them at all.

This *John* of *Cappadocia* was a great opposer of *Theodoraes* designs, and had often accused her of great crimes to the Emperor; so that once he was in some hopes of making a difference betwixt them. (This is the truth of the story, and what I proposed principally to communicate in this Book.) In short, after she had sufficiently plagued the said *John*, she banished him into *Egypt*, but that being too little, she persecuted him still, and watched

watched him narrowly to find out new matter against him: Four years after, having apprehended two of the *Prasmanian* party who were in the Sedition at *Cyzique*, and accused of being accessory to the assault upon the Bishop, she employed, to corrupt them, the cruelty of her menaces, and the greatness of her promises; and one of them frightened by her threats, and inveigled by her promises, impeached *John* of *Cappadocia* for murder, as she desired. The other could not be brought to give any such evidence, though they tortured him so cruelly, he was thought to have been dead; by means of the constancy of that Man, she had but one witness, and could not compass her ends. However, she caused both their right hands to be chopped off, one because he would not swear falsely against his Master; and the other, to terrifie him least he should discover her detestable intrigues, being vainly desirous, as it should seem, to conceal those practices which she acted at the very Bar, in the sight of all the World.

If *Justinian* passed for a Fury in the shape of a Man, it was not without reason, considering the mischeifs which he brought upon all people: For the actions of a Man discover his Nature and Power, it would be more easie to number the Sands upon the Seashore, then the people which *Justinian* ruined. For my own part, having well considered the Countreys that he destroyed and depopulated, I do assure my self they were more then two millions of Men, which perished by his cruelty and oppression.

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In effect, he dispeopled the whole Tract of *Africa* in such sort, That in several days journey thorow that Countrey, it was a wonder to meet one single man, and yet there were in his days 160000 *Vandals* bearing Arms, besides Women, Children, and Servants. Besides which, who can number the ancient inhabitants of that Countrey which remained in the Towns, manured the Fields, and exercised Trades and Marchandise, of which, I my self have many times seen an incredible quantity. The Natives in *Mauritania* were more numerous then they, and they were all extirpated with their Wives and Children. The greatest part of the *Roman* Army perished there likewise, and with them all the Auxilliary Troops of their Allies; so that I am of opinion, it may be affirmed without extravagance, That in that Countrey alone, he was the destruction of above a million; and all, because after he had defeated the *Vandals*, he took no care to establish his Empire in those parts, and fortifie his party by indulging the Natives, but called away *Bellisarius* upon pretence, that he designed to make himself King; a thing he never thought of, nor was it any way convenient for him. But what ever he pretended, the true cause was, that he might have opportunity to pillage more freely, and ruine without obstruction, the whole Coast of *Africa*: And to speak truth, the Officers which he sent, acquitted themselves very faithfully of their Commission from him; for under the new names of Imposts, and Duties, they seized upon the

the best and richest part of the Countrey. This Emperor, who could not contain himself in one and the same state, and seemed to be born to put all things in confusion, forbid the *Arians* the exercise of their Religion, and deferred always to send supplies to his Army; till at length they began to mutiny, and so many Seditions were ready to break out, as would certainly have endangered the peace and tranquility of the whole Government.

He dispeopled *Italy* of its Inhabitants, much more then he had done the Coast of *Africa*, which was three times of greater extent; from whence a probable computation may be made of the numbers which he occasionally ruined; for I have elsewhere spoke of the original of his Wars in *Italy*.

The same exactions that he used in *Africa*, he used likewise in *Italy*, having ravaged all by the means of certain receivers which he called *Logothetes*: Before the Wars in *Italy*, the Empire of the *Goths* extended from *Gaule* or *France*, as far as the confines of *Dacia*, or the City of *Sirmium*; and when the *Roman* Troops were in *Italy*, the *Germans* possessed the best part of *Gallia Cisalpina*, and the Countrey belonging to *Venice*. *Sirmium* and the Countrey adjacent, were in the hands of the *Gepides*: All this vast tract of Ground was depopulated in the Reign of the Emperor *Justinian*, partly by War, partly by Famine, partly by the Plague, and by other evils that are inseparably concomitant with War. *Illyrium*, *Thrace*, *Greece*, the *Gherisonß*, and all the

the Provinces from the entrance into the *Jonique* Sea, to the very Walls of *Constantinople*, were cruelly spoiled under the Dominion of *Justinian*, by the annual incursions of the *Huns*, the *Slavonians*, and others. I do verily believe, that in every of these inroads, what of those who were left behind, and of those who were carried away prisoners, there perished above Two hundred thousand *Romans*. And this is most certain, That in that Countrey which before was the most populous in the World, there were fewer people then in the uninhabited Deserts of *Scythia*, and this was the effect of the Wars in *Europe*, and *Africa*. *Asia* likewise was not without her sufferings; for the *Saracens* (during those Wars) having extended their Arms from *Egypt*, as far as the Borders of *Persia*, and made themselves Masters of the Provinces which were under the Dominion of the *Romans*, so harassed them with such constant cruelty, that there was not a person to be seen, and the numbers which were killed, or transplanted, were infinite.

The *Persian* made three incursions into the Lands of the Empire, under the conduct of *Cosroes*; and where ever they came, they ruined the Towns and Countreys; unpeopled them of their Inhabitants, and carrying the greatest part away with them prisoners, they put the rest to the Sword; but being afterwards got into *Colchis*, they made considerable devastations, one after the other, as it had been in imitation of what the *Lazians* and *Romans* had done

done there before; but neither the *Persians* themselves, the *Huns*, the *Slavonians*, nor other of the Barbarous Nations which invaded the *Roman* Empire, could ever carry back their Armies whole and intire. They lost many Men in their Conquests, in their Rencounters, Sieges, and pitched Battles, in which, *Fortune* was not always favorable to their side; so as they became sensible of *Justinians* fury, as well as his own Subjects: *Cosroes* also (as I have said elsewhere) was a man of a turbulent spirit, yet *Justinian* was always the aggressor, and served as a Bonte-feu to the conflagrations which brake out; and in the consequence, consumed most of his Countrey. To be short, in the affairs which he managed, he never conducted them according to the times and conjunctures, but did every thing improperly, during the whole War; and in times of Peace or Cessation, his thoughts were wholly taken up in contriving which way he might trouble his Neighbors. He invaded them bluntly, without declaring of War, but his preparations were always so backward (by reason of his extream covetousness) he seldom succeeded; and instead of applying himself to the prosecution of his designs, he was for the most part taken up in Metaphisical Notions about the Nature and existence of God: Nevertheless, he kept his Armies constantly on foot to execute his cruel and tyrannical commands, never suffering them to come to any engagement with their Enemies, his avarice not permitting him to allow them what was necessary to over-

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come them ; so that in *Justinian's* Reign, the Land was not only besprinkled, but overflown with the Blood of the *Romans*, and all other Nations in the World.

These were evils which succeeded upon the War at that time in the Territories of the *Roman* Empire, but we shall find as many murders committed in the Cities, if we consider what was done by the Factious, who had their quarrels and combats quite thorow the Empire ; and indeed, how could it be otherwise, seeing no man was punished as he deserved ; because one faction adhered to the Emperor, and neither the one, nor the other, had patience to be at quiet : One of them finding themselves backed and supported by the Emperor, puffed up with vanity, believed they might hazard all securely, the other knowing the Emperor was their Enemy, grew desperate upon an opinion that they could be no worse, because they had nothing left already to loose. Hereupon they meet frequently in small Parties, and fought several little Battles ; sometimes they met in Squadrons to fight, and sometimes hand to hand in single duels ; sometimes also they would lie in wait for one another, and murder one another as they found opportunity. There was not a day passed, but a thousand cruelties were exercised on both sides for two and thirty years together, and continued without any intermission : Oftentimes the Governor of the Town would put some of them to death, but for the most part, his severity was exercised against the

the *Prasinian* faction, besides which, so many *Samaritans*, and Hereticks were put to death, that the whole Empire seemed to be overflowed with Blood.

These things which I have now mentioned in short, and enlarged upon in my other Books, were acted in the Reign of this Man, or rather of this Devil, and were purely the effect of his malice and rage : But for the things of which I am now speaking, he did them by a power which I never understood. To be brief, in his time the Empire was afflicted with several judgments, which by many people were attributed to the evil genius which attended him ; but others looked upon them more rationally, as the effect of the Divine displeasure, and that God provoked, by the sins of the people, had permitted him and his instruments to oppress the whole Empire with all these mischiefs. The River *Scyrta* overflowed *Edeffa*, and drowned all the Inhabitants ; the *Nile* overflowed all the Fields of *Egypt*, but not retiring as formerly, it brought great miseries upon the Inhabitants, which I have related before ; *Lyadne* also being overflown, all *Tarsis* lay for several days together under Water, and it went not away, till it had brought irreparable damage upon the Inhabitants : Several Cities were ruined by Earthquakes, as *Antioch*, the chief City of the East ; *Selucia*, a Town not far from it ; and *Anazarbe*, a great City in *Cilicia*. Besides these, *Ibere*, *Amasia* the cheif City in *Pontus*, *Polybot*, a Town in *Phrygia* ; that Town which the In-

habitants of *Pisidea*, called *Philomide*, *Lycnide* in *Epirus*, and *Corinth*, and populous Towns, were ruined, and for the most part subverted by Earthquakes, and the greatest part of the Inhabitants killed. After this the Plague (which I mentioned formerly) began to rage, and swept away half the people which were left. And these were the calamities which they suffered in the days of *Justinian*, when he governed the Empire, at first under the authority of his Uncle *Justin*, and then after he came himself to the Throne.

I shall now tell how he possessed himself of the wealth of the whole World; but first it will not be amiss that I give a relation of a Dream, which a person of great quality had, when *Justinian* first entred upon the management of Affairs.

He affirmed, *That he seemed to be on that side towards Chalcedon, and that he saw Justinian in the middle of the streight, swallowing up all the Water of the Sea; and that after he had drunk up that, he rested upon the shore to drink up the dirty and stinking Rivers, which received all the Fakes and Common-shores, both in Constantinople and Chalcedon, and dis-imbogued them into the said streight.*

And this he assured us was his Dream, and he was a credible person, of an Illustrious Family.

Furthermore, when *Justin* was advanced to the Throne, *Justinian* found his Coffers very well furnished; for his Predecessor *Anastasi*,
was

was the Man of all the Emperors, the most provident, and the most proper for the Conduct, either of a State, or a private family. This *Anastatius* apprehending (as it hapned afterwards) that his Successor finding little Monneys in his Treasury, would squeeze and molest his subjects to supply himself; therefore he left his Exchequer very well provided, both with Silver and Gold. But *Justinian* exhausted it in a short time, imploying part of it in impertinent Buildings, which he erected unnecessarily to keep out the Sea, and part in extravagant presents to the Barbarians. Which Treasure the most debauched and profligate Emperor would have been much troubled to dissipate, though his profuseness had continued a hundred years together: For the Treasurers who had the charge of the Publick Stock, under the Emperor *Anastatius* affirmed, That in the space of Twenty seven years, which was the time of his Reign, he had saved by his frugality Three hundred and twenty thousand Livres of Gold, which *Justinian* consumed in the days of his Uncle, as I have hinted elsewhere: Besides which, it is incredible what vast quantities he extorted from his subjects, during his Reign, by most horrible oppression, forcing the whole riches of the Empire into his own Chests by all imaginable ways, and all the cruelties that could be invented. So that it might be said, he was a great Gulf that swallowed up all the wealth of his subjects, to disgorge it among the Barbarians. After he had spent the Treasures of the State,
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he began to cast his eyes upon the riches of particular persons: He ruined several wealthy persons both in *Constantinople*, and other places, charging them with crimes, of which they were not guilty: Some he accused of Idolatry, others of Heresie, others of Sodomy; some of having ravished the Nuns, some of Incest, some of Sedition, some of inclination to the *Prasinians*; and some of High Treason: So that by his forged wills, and his pretended gifts, he made himself heir, as well to the living as dead. I have told before, how he made use of *Victorians*, to put himself into possession of the Lands belonging to the Senate, which in his Reign happened to be Seditious; and how he acted (before their Sedition brake out) to hedge in, and unite to his Revenue, the Estates of particular Men: But it is not to be admired, if it be considered, That by his continual presents he enriched all the Barbarians in all the quarters of the World, East, West, North, and South, as far as *Great Britain*, and other remoter places, of whom, we never had heard any thing, and saw their Ambassadors at *Constantinople*, before we knew of what Countrey to call them. These people when they once found *Justinian* so liberal, they came to visit him at *Constantinople* from all parts of the World; and he (good Man) much pleased at what ought to have troubled him, overjoyed to see them in his Court, as a thing of mighty importance to him, drained the Treasure of the Empire, and distributed among them what was remaining of his Buildings towards

towards the Sea, and sent them all home with very magnificent rewards. So that the wealth of the *Romans* seemed to be decreed wholly for the Barbarians, either by the presents which were made them, their inroads into the Empire, the ransom of their prisoners, or the sums they paid for purchasing Peace, or perhaps a Truce, and that of no long continuance; and this was signified by the Dream which I mentioned before: But besides these, he had several inventions to possess himself by degrees of all his Subjects estates, of which, I shall give a particular as well as I am able.

He instituted a new Magistrate among the people, and invested him with jurisdiction over those who sold slaves in their Shops, to whom the said Officer gave Licence to sell what they pleased, upon the payment of a yearly Rent to the Emperor. He obliged the Citizens to buy all they wanted in the Market, where they paid thrice as much as in other places; and though Commodities were raked never so high, and the buyer never so much cheated, it was not permitted to sue him that had cheated him, because the greatest part of the gains went either to the Emperor or Magistrates. Those who bought any thing, were in the same danger of being couzened by the detestable industry of the Magistrates Guards, and the abominable inventions of the Merchants, whose impunity gave them encouragement to cheat securely, not only in the prices of their Ware, but in changing the Goods: Afterwards *Justinian* set up

several Monopolies, that is, he gave privilege to some particular persons to sell certain particular Commodities, with prohibition to the rest; thereby selling the publick liberty to any Body, who would undertake that impious profession, and leaving them the administration of all things, for the payment of a certain duty agreed upon betwixt themselves. The same practices he used with his other Magistrates, and such as had Governments, and Offices, who plagued and pillaged those who depended upon them with all manner of Liberty, because no small part of the profits accrued to the Emperor. Least the number of former Magistrates should have been too small to execute his pernicious inventions, (for before his time, the Governor of the City took cognizance of all Crimes) he created two more, that he might ruine the poor subject with more ease and expedition. To one of them he gave the title of *Pretor* of the People, and his business was to correct Thieves; the other was called the *Inquisitor*, and his office to punish Sodomy, Buggery, Idolatry, Heresie, and Superstition; and these two upstart Commanders followed his directions exactly according to *Justinians* intention. The *Pretor*, when any considerable Felony was committed, and the lost Goods found about the Thief, seized them for the Emperor, pretending, he kept them for their right Master; by which way, *Justinian* got every day some rich thing or other, and without any expence. The *Inquisitor*, when any Man was condemned, confiscated what he

pleased

pleased of his estate, adjudged it to the Emperor, and enriched himself by the ruine of other People: For at first, the Magistrates never informed themselves, if a man were accused, though there were Witnesses ready to prove the Fact; but without examining the Case, or any legal Conviction, they caused who they pleased to be put privately to death, and seized their estates for the use of the Emperor. At length the wicked *Justinian* committed the Judgment of all Criminal Affairs to these two Magistrates indifferently, and to the Governor of the Town, commanding each to do what they could, to destroy more People than his Companions. It is reported, That one of them coming to him, to know who should determine in a Cause that had been heard before them all three, the Emperor told him, *He that had condemned most already,*

He debased the Office of the Treasurer or Questor exceedingly, though all the Emperors his Predecessors, endeavored to raise it, and put in persons who were to have cognizance of all things, but especially of the Laws, chusing them always as free from Covetousness as they could, well knowing it impossible, but a State must be subject to many disorders, under the administration of an ignorant Questor, or one that comes in to that place with a desire to make himself rich. This Questorship *Justinian* conferred upon *Tribonian*, whose manners I have elsewhere described: After his death, he took the best part of his estate (though he had a Son

Son living, and several Nephews) and gave his place to *Junius Apher*, a man not at all versed in the Laws, nor who had conversed among the Lawyers; he had indeed some knowledge in Latine, but had never studied Greek; and his tongue was so little adapted to speak it, that sometimes when he ventured, he made all laugh that were present. He was so transcendently covetous, and so much beyond all reason addicted to gain, he made no difficulty to sell Places or Orders publicly, and was not ashamed to receive bribes from any body, which desired any thing of him.

This infamous Questor executed that place seven years together, to the great prejudice and dishonor of the Empire. Upon his death, the Emperor put in *Constantine*, who had indeed some notion of the Law, but was so young, he never had pleaded; besides which, he was the greatest and most impudent Thief in nature. *Justinian* loved him better then he had loved any before, if (to speak truth) he ever loved any body: So that he made him superintendant in those affairs, and cheif minister of all his Injustice and Tyranny. With these advantages *Constantine* in a short time got a vast estate, but his insolence was insupportable; for he affronted any man, who came to him without some considerable present; and when any bribe was given to have their business dispatched, they were obliged to intrust it in the hands of his servants; for none was suffered to come near, or speak with him, but when he was with the Emperor,

Emperor, or returned from him; and then he would not vouchsafe them time to explain themselves, for fear of being detained one moment, and gain nothing by it. In this manner *Justinian* made use of his Questor.

The Captain of his Guards, besides the usual sum, paid annually to the Emperor more then 3000 Livres in Gold; which Money was not to be raised, either according to Law, or antient Custom, but was accounted to *Justinian* as dropped out of the air: For which reason (I conceive) it was called *The Aerial Tribute*, though it might more properly have been named *The effect of the cunning and impiety of the Prince*, who under the title of Tribute, gave occasion to the Captains to squeeze the estates of those under him without controul, upon pretence, that they were obliged to pay it into the Emperor, though their own expences and manner of living was suitable to the Majesty of a King. The Emperor let them alone in this manner, till they had cram'd their own Coffers, and got immense riches together, then taking advantage of some complaints against them, he charged them with some crime, of which they could not readily clear themselves, and seized upon all they had got, as he served *John of Cappadocia*. All who were ever in that Office, enriched themselves vastly, and got incredible estates, only two are to be excepted, *Phocas* whom I mentioned in my other Books (a person of great honesty, and so accomplished vertue, he could not be reproached with any thing that he had gained

gained in that place;) and *Bassus*, who succeeded him, was the other; but they continued not long in their commands, being persons who governed too well, and could not frame themselves to the Customs of that age; And because I should never conclude, should I go about to be particular in every thing, I shall only say, That the Emperor did the same with every Officer he had, and all the other Magistrates in *Constantinople*.

Thorow all the rest of the Towns in the Empire, *Justinian* put the cheifest Offices into the hands of the worst men he could find, to the end, that he might have pretence to take from them what they should get, and impropriate it to his own use; and indeed, an honest man, with but common sence, would not have accepted them, and hazarded his own fortune to destroy other people. When *Justinian* had received the Money he agreed for, with those he was to prefer, he suffered them to pillage the people, and the Provinces, that they might enrich themselves in a short time, and they complied with his design: For having borrowed at great interest, the Money which they paid for their places, when they were possessed of their Governments or other places, they treated the subjects with all manner of Tyranny, to discharge themselves of the debts which they had contracted in the purchase, and to lay up for themselves. And this they did with the greater liberty, because they were in no apprehension of being questioned, much less condemn-
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ed for their exaction; but on the contrary were assured, That the excess of their violences, their murders, their thefts, and all their other cruelties, would rather be a means to gain them honor and reputation, seeing all those Frauds and Extortions passed with that Prince, for marks of their industry and address. But for all that, when *Justinian* observed they were sufficiently rich he intangled them in some pretended charge or other, and took all from them in a moment.

There was a Law made, by which it was enjoined to all persons who were to be advanced to any Office or Government, to swear upon the *Evangelists*, That they would not commit any violence or extortions upon the Subject; and, that there was nothing, either given or taken for their places; and that, whoever was guilty of transgressing that Law, should be accursed according to the custom of the *Antients*: But the said Law had not been in force a full year; but in despite of that Law, and the malediction that was pronounced, he sold those Offices himself, not only privately, but with inimitable impudence, in the face of the whole World, and the Merchants which bought them; notwithstanding their Oaths to the contrary, plundered and ravaged the State more then ever before. Besides these, he had another invention, which perhaps is not so easily to be believed; and that was not to sell the great Offices in *Constantinople* as formerly, but to keep them in his own hands, and execute them by certain persons, to whom
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he allowed salaries for their pains, and received all the rest of the profits to himself; and they (like Farmers) having received what they were to expect from their Master, with insupportable boldness, squeezed, and extorted whatever they could to satisfy him, and indeed brought him in most prodigious sums.

These Mercenary Magistrates and Governors were to be seen passing from one Province to another, plaguing and tormenting the poor people, under the fair pretence of their dignity. *Justinian* had always a great care to put the worst men in his Empire, into the best places, and his design commonly succeeded. When he first advanced his wicked agents to the principal Dignities, and their power had discovered their ill inclinations, it was much admired, that the heart of man could be capable of such malice: But after a considerable interval, those who succeeded, having infinitely out-done them, the people were at as great a loss to comprehend how it should be possible for them to exceed their Predecessors, who had passed among them for such abominable Creatures; and yet compared with the present Officers, were very honest men. But the third succession, and those who came after them, exceeded the second, as much as the second had done the first, and did in a manner vindicate their Predecessors by the transcendency of their crimes, and the extream industry which they expressed in the conduct of their execrable actions, insomuch, as they restored them who were before them, to some degree

degree of reputation, though in their times it was thought impossible for any to have been more impious and cruel. In this manner the miseries of the State daily increasing, it was manifest by experience, That certain bounds cannot be prescribed to the wickedness of Man, and that when it is confirmed by precedent examples, and maintained and supported by great persons, and power and authority, gives it means to exert, and show its self against Inferiours; no man can tell how far it will extend, but by the greatness of the miseries which it pulls down upon the people. And these were the Magistrates in fashion under the Reign of *Justinian*.

It often fell out, that the *Huns* invaded the Lands of the Empire, and the Commanders in *Thracia* and *Illyrium* having resolved to charge them in their Retreat, they received express Orders from the Emperor to the contrary, as being allied with him against the *Goths*, and the rest which were Enemies to the very name of the *Romans*.

The *Barbarians* making use of that occasion, retreated, after they had committed a thousand outrages upon the Subjects of the Empire, and the more, because they found they should pass as Allies, though they carried with them a vast deal of plunder, and great quantity of prisoners. The *Peasants* unable to endure, that their Wives and Children should be carried into captivity, got together in considerable numbers, pursued, overtook, charged, defeated the *Barbarians*, and having

having taken all their Baggage, they recovered their prisoners, and all the spoil that they had lost : But this victory was very unfortunate to the *Peasants*, for the Emperor sent Soldiers amongst them, who beat, and wounded, and abused them, and eat up the whole Countrey, till they had surrendred the Horses which they had taken from the *Barbarians*.

When *Justinian* and *Theodora* had quit themselves of *John de Cappadocia*, they looked out for another to put in his place; but they resolved to chuse none; but the worst that they could find, that he might be a faithfull minister of the cruelty and oppression which they designed against their Subjects. For this reason they were very curious in examining the spirit and humors of all people about the Court; but finding none of them bad enough, they gave the place (*pro tempore*) to one *Theodotus*, who though no Saint, was not so wicked as they desired; at length, after long and diligent search, they found out a certain *Syrian*, called *Peter Barzames*, who had been a Banker by profession; this Rascal had got a great sum of Money together by his cunning and juggling, cheating the receivers, and other persons, with the greatest dexterity in the World, nimning their Money as they were telling it, so neatly, it was hard to perceive him; and when he was taken, he had the impudence to swear them down, that it stuck to his fingers.

This fellow, as I have discribed him, having listd himself first in the *Pretorian Bands*, came
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by degrees to that perfection of wickedness, that he was always the first who offered his service to *Theodora*, when ever any of her impious resolutions were to be put in execution. Upon this score they put him in the place of *Theodotus*, who succeeded *John of Cappadocia*, as not being able to make choice of another man, so proper to assist in their barbarous designs.

The first thing he did, he cheated the Soldier of his pay, and he did it without the least shame or fear in the World. His next exploit was, to expose to sale the Offices and Commands, with the greatest infamy that ever Man did, selling them much cheaper to any that was ready for an ill action; abandoning the goods and the lives of the people of the Provinces, to them who bought the Governments, and transferring to them, all the power which the Emperor had granted him of pilling and plundering with impunity, as soon as ever they had paid their Money; so that, what ever they received of the blood and lives of the Subject, was immediately conveyed into the Coffers of the Emperor.

There were likewise Diabolical Councils and Conventions about the destruction of Cities, held in the cheif Courts in *Constantinople*, and (if I mistake not) by publick allowance; for from that time, Officers were created with the title of *Collectors*, and distributed into the Provinces, to raise Money under pretence of Justice; but in reality to reimburse themselves of what
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they had given for their places, which they levied upon such as were culpable with most merciless cruelty. At length *Peter* himself, among those whom he employed in his exactions, having tried many, found some who cheated him, and laid up for themselves; and this was not his misfortune alone, but every mans who had borne the said office before, and after him; the Masters of the Offices, and such as had been advanced for their money or presents; the Overseers of the Emperors particular Demesns; and in few words, all the Magistrates, not only in *Constantinople*, but the whole Empire: For in short, from the time that *Justinian* (the greatest Tyrant that ever was) had the administration of Affairs, there was not one place, but he sold himself, or his Ministers under hand; and those who bought them, were obliged to serve him long, with much trouble and great loss.

Justinian had made great provision of Corn in *Constantinople*, and kept it till the greatest part of it shrunk; nevertheless, though it was not fit to be used, he forced the Cities in the East to take it off on his hands, each of them a certain proportion, and sold it to them at a much dearer rate, than if it had been good: So that the poor Citizens were constrained to throw it into the Sea, or the Common-shores, though it had cost them so dear. And for that which was good, though there was great quantities of it in the Granaries in *Constantinople*, the Emperor caused it to be sold to such Towns as wanted it, at double the price it bore in the Provinces

Provinces, from whence it was extorted and sent thither. But the next year there being a scarcity of Corn, and the Ships having transported less from the Provinces, then was requisite for the subsistence of the people of that City, which was the greatest in the World. *Peter* found himself in great perplexity, not knowing of what Wood to make his Arrow, nor what remedy to apply to their Distress. Having well considered of a way, at length he pitched upon this, to cause all the Corn to be transported out of *Thrace*, *Phrygia*, and *Sithynia*, to *Constantinople*, and to compel the Inhabitants of those Provinces to convey it themselves to the Ports, where they were to ship it with a great deal of pains, and carry it by Sea to *Constantinople*; having experimented in their passage, all the dangers that could be incurred, in a fullen and outrageous Sea.

When they were arrived thorow all those difficulties, and had perfected their voyage, they had but a third part of their due paid them for their pains, and the losses they received were so great and considerable, they had better have given away their Corn, and twice as much more: Yet all this Provision was too small for the sustenance of so populous a City, several persons went to complain to the Emperor, and remonstrate the true state of affairs. The Soldiers who were in great arrears, and had no Money to furnish themselves with Victuals, began to murmur and repine, and to hold such Meetings and Assemblies in the Town, as seem-

ed to preface a Sedition which was ready to break out : Hereupon the Emperor conceiving a displeasure against *Peter* for his male-administration, resolved to take away his place, not only because of the present inconveniencies, but because he was assured he was very rich, and had heaped up vast sums by his violences and oppressions : But *Theodora* opposed it, being a great friend to *Barzames*, by reason (as I imagine) of his wicked inclinations, and the insupportable cruelty wherewith he treated the Subjects ; for as she her self was naturally cruel and inhumane, she took particular care, to have such people to execute her designs, as were absolutely conformable to her own pernicious disposition. Some there are notwithstanding, who affirm, That *Peter* forced *Theodora* to be his friend, by vertue of certain charms, though she was naturally his Enemy. The truth is, all his life long he had applied himself much to Incantments, and Necromancy, holding great correspondence with the *Manicheans*, because they studied them much, and were open favorers of those Arts, as *Barzames* was of them. Though *Theodora* understood all this, and more, she loved him never the less ; on the contrary she engaged in his interests with more kindness and zeal, having had her self in her youth great conversation with Sorcerers and Magicians, and placed much confidence in their Art, and many times made very much use of it. It was believed likewise, That it was not altogether her flattery and complacency, which gave her such influence up-
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on *Justinian*, but her Magick and intelligence with the Devil ; for *Justinian* was not so cunning, nor of a nature so flexible to good, to defend himself against her stratagems, and wiles of this kind : On the contrary, his mind being entirely corrupted by cruelty, and avarice, he was every moment exposed so much to subtilties and flattery, that in things of greatest importance, he turned easily with the wind, there being no trust or reliance upon him for the best friend, or nearest relation that he had : For in short, he was the most light, unconstant, and uncertain man in all things, that ever was known. So that the Sorcerers who were very busie about him with their charms, and particularly *Theodora*, found no great difficulty to arrive at their ends.

The humors and inclinations of *Peter*, as I said before, wrought so much upon *Theodora*, and gained him the favor of that Princess, so effectually, that the Emperor having with much ado, removed him from his Prefectship, she prevailed with him not long after to make him high Treasurer of the Empire, having taken that place from *John*, who had been put into it but little before. This *John* was originally of *Palestine*, a man of that mildness, justice, and generosity, he knew not how to exercise the little frugalities of a private family ; and for injury, he had never done it to any person alive, But the more grateful he was in the eyes of the people, the more odious he became to *Justinian* and *Theodora*, who no sooner had notice of the

vertue and goodness of their Officers ; but they turned their thoughts wholly upon ways of removing them, not being able to endure persons so opposite to their own natural temper.

Peter, as I said before, succeeding *John*, in the management of the Treasury, was the cause of a thousand miseries to particular persons, having imbezled the Fund, which of a long time had been raising by an antient and laudable custom, for the relief of several poor families ; sending part of it to the Emperor, and keeping the rest for himself, whereby he acquired vast riches, whilst they died with hunger, who had nothing else to maintain them, but those annual Contributions. Besides which, he coined Money of Gold, much less then the former, and made it currant by Proclamation.

These in the Reign of *Justinian* were the persons, who managed all the Offices, and publick employments. I shall now speak of the methods which he used to ruine all people of estates, though to exhibite their misery, there needs (in strictness) no more then what I have spoken of the Governors of Provinces, and Collectors, who had private and peremptory instruction, to ruine all people whose estates were in Land.

The Roman Emperors were formerly accustomed to remit to the people, the arrears of such Money as was owing to the *Exchequer*, that such of them as were unable to pay, might not be in fear all their life long ; nor the Treasurers have opportunity to raise Money, where
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many times it was not due. But *Justinian*, in Two and thirty years time, was not guilty of one of those remissions ; the poor people were forced from their Houses and Countreys, without any hopes of return, whilst such as were honest, were liable to calumniation, and threatened perpetually to be complained of, as not having paid what was due to the Emperor for their Taxes upon their Lands ; insomuch, that the unfortunate Creatures were constrained to pass away their Lands to the Emperor, or their Persecutors ; not so much out of apprehension of new Taxes, as for the impossibility which they found to support long the unjust exactions, which for many years together they had been forced to pay.

Moreover, though the greatest part of *Asia* had been ruined by the Arms of the *Sarazens*, and *Persians*, and all *Europe* harassed and infected by the incursions of the *Huns*, and *Sclavonians* ; the War of the *Goths* produced sacking and burning of Towns, and devastations of Provinces ; though the Inhabitants were carried away prisoners with all that they had ; and those few who escaped the hands of the *Barbarians*, were glad to forsake their Countrey, and banish themselves : Yet none of these considerations could work upon *Justinian*, or prevail with him to remit one tribute or impost to any one Town in the whole Empire, unless it was such as had been taken by the Enemy ; and in that case, their exemption was but for a year, whereas, if he should have excused them for seven years
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together, as his Predecessor *Anastatius* had done; it would have been no great matter, considering the great misery to which they were reduced. In short, *Cabades* invaded the Territories of the Emperor, and returned every way Victorious, but his Son *Cosroes* produc'd greater Consternation, by Burning and Killing all where ever he passed with his Army. And yet those of the East, who had been exposed so often to the Incursions of the *Huns*, the *Persians*, and *Sarazins*, and ruined by their Armies; and the *Romans*, who being settled in several parts of *Europe*, had many times felt the Hostility of the *Barbarians*; those I say, who had suffered so much for their affection to the State, found more cruelty in *Justinian*, then among all the *Barbarians*; his Edicts and Impositions, compleating that Ruine, which the Enemy had but begun. I shall now recite what was the Contents of those Edicts.

Those whose Estates were in Land, were by them obliged to furnish a certain quantity of Provisions for the Souldiers, at their own Charges, every Man paying his part; nor did they consider what was given according to the Prizes of things, but according to a former Assessment made a long time before; and if at any time they were so unfortunate, not to have so much Cattle or Forrage upon their Lands, as would satisfy for their share, they were constrained to buy them at any rate, and convey them from the Provincial Magazines, which were very far off, to the place where the
Troops

Troops were in Garrison, and then deliver them, in what quantity and at what rate the Officers pleased, and not according to what was reasonable and just. This Impost was called, *the Impost of Victuals*, by which those who had Lands, paid ten times greater Tribute then formerly, so that really it was taking from them, so much Blood out of their Veins, being obliged to carry their Corn to *Constantinople*, after they had suffered so much by quartering the Army. These disorders and oppressions the State owes to *Barzanes* and *John de Cappadocia*, whom their Successors imitated exactly in the Continuation of their Crime: And so much for the Tax called *the Impost of Victuals*. The Impositions were like a Plague, which came suddenly upon those whose Estates were in Land, and took from them, not only the hopes of living tolerably well, but the means of continuing their Life, as miserable as it was. For though the Lands were all thrown up, and deserted by the Ruine or Flight of the Owners, or their Tenants, who were either Killed or Frighted out of their Country, or else hid themselves to avoid Persecution, *Justinian* without any reluctance exacted these Impositions, which were very frequent in his time; I conclude in few words, the Taxes call the *Descriptions* were imposed to repair the Losses which the Cities had brought upon such as were proprietors in the Country. But it would be an infinite Trouble, to undertake an Account of all the Evil Effects which ensued upon these Taxes,
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or the idle and trivial pretences, upon which they were Imposed ; for the Miseries of the People increased daily , and though the Inhabitants in the Country were most of them dead of the Plague, (which the Roman Empire was no less afflicted at that time , then the other parts of the World) and though the Contagion was so universal , the Fields and the Farms lay uninhabited and untilled , *Justinian* never made the least Abatement in his Duties , and Imposts that he had Established ; on the contrary , he constrained with great severity, those who were alive , to pay the proportions of such of their Neighbors , as were Dead of the Infection.

In short , their finest and richest Apartments they gave for Quarters to the Souldiers , treating them with all possible liberality and civility , whilst they were glad to make shift with any by place or stinking hole to lye in themselves. In this manner things passed in the Reign of *Justinian* and *Theodora* , who though they were but Mortal as other Men are , acted more like Furies than Men ; for during all their time, there was not one Moments intermission of War , or other Calamities , but a general and deplorable desolation, like a Flood , overwhelmed the whole Empire at one time.

But because by accident I have mentioned the word Quarters , I will not forget to say , that there was at *Constantinople* 70000 *Barbarians* and Forreigners , which the House Keepers were obliged to Quarter, and to suffer many other Incommodities , besides what they received

ved by Lodging them. And now I shall declare how *Justinian* behaved himself with his Armies. He sent Commissaries call'd *Logothetes* among them , with directions to pinch and abate as much of their Pay as was possible , giving those Miscreants a Twelfth part of what by their devilish Arts they could retrench of their pay. By the Establishment in the *Roman Army* , all Soldiers had not equal pay : Those who were new , had less then the rest , those who had any thing of Experience , had more, especially if they had been Listed any time ; but the greatest and most considerable Pensions , were to the *Veterans* , who had served too long to be dismissed without allowance , for not being looked upon as under Ingagement , but as private persons belonging to the Establishment, they were able to subsist with more Ease , and leave to their Families , out of their Wages and Pay, what would keep them , when they themselves were dead : The Establishment running thus , *When any of the Veterans dyed , or were to be dismissed , those who were next under , were commonly preferred according to the Antiquity of their Services , and receive Pay with the highest.* But these detestable Commissaries would not permit the Names of such as were slain to be expung'd , nor the Rolls to be called over , but in a very long time, by which it came to pass, that the Troops were very thin , and those few Souldiers which were left , remained in spite of their Merits, in ranks beneath what was their due , and by consequence their pay was so much less

less then it ought to have been, whilst in the mean time the Commissaries conveyed to *Justinian* all the Money that they purloind from the Army, which suffered besides that, a thousand other injustices, in recompence of the dangers they had run, and the Wounds they had received in their almost daily Rencounters and Engagements. For example, some were despised for being *Greeks*, as if *Greece* never had produced any one person that was worthy of the Name of a Souldier: some were cashierd, as being in service without the Emperors Order; The Certificates of others were with great difficulty allow'd, and others disbanded for having been absent some small time from their Quarters. After all this, certain of the Pretorian Bands were chosen to take an exact review, quite through the *Roman Empire*, of all the Souldiers which were capable of bearing Armes. Some who had been a long time in the Service, were cashiered, as unfit for the War, and were to be seen begging about the Streets, as having nothing to sustain them but the Charity of the people, which to good Men, was a sad object, and well worthy of Compassion. Others to defend themselves against those Extremities, gave great sums of Money to the Commissaries by way of Redemption: So that the Army being grown feeble and weak, by a hundred such practices, and destitute of necessities, began to conceive such a hatred against the service, that the affairs of the Empire went very ill on all sides, and especially in *Italy*: For

Alexander

Alexander who was sent thither in the Quality of Commissarie, brought a thousand Mischiefs and Incommodities upon the Souldiers, reproaching them impudently by the finalness of their Numbers, (which was not their fault, but the Emperors) and causing large sums of Money to be payd to the *Italians*, under pretence of vindicating the Emp. from the violences of *Theodoric* and his *Goths*. Nay, this business was carryed on yet farther, for the ravenous Commissaries having ruined the Common Souldiers, reduced the Officers to the greatest poverty imaginable, in so much, as they had nothing left to subsist upon, though their Services had been extraordinary, and the Laurels wherewith they had been Crowned a long time, ought to have sheltered them against so unreasonable a Storm: And seeing I am speaking of the Army, I shall add, That formerly the Roman Emperors, had a Custom to maintain several small Armies upon the Frontiers of the Empire, to secure them against Incursions, and particularly in the Eastern Provinces, to resist the Inroads of the *Persians*, and *Sarazins*, and these Troops were called the Troops of the Frontiers. In the first place *Justinian* took so little care of these Armies, that he deferred the payment of them from four years to four years, and sometimes to five; and when the Truce was concluded betwixt the *Romans* and the *Persians*, supposing it would drain his Coffers unnecessarily, to maintain those poor Troops in time of Peace, he disbanded them all in one day, and leaving the

the Frontiers unfurnished, he brought those Troops to such indigence, that they had nothing to subsist upon, but the benevolence of good people.

The Emperors Guard consisted formerly of 3500 men, whose pay was greater than the rest of the Army, and suitable to the dignity of the place, as being intended for the choice Souldiers of *Armenia*, and a select number to be cull'd out of the whole Army, no other being capable thereof: But from the time that *Zeno* was Emperor, all sorts of people were entertained, and no body so lewd or inexperienced but might be admitted for his money. In the Reign of *Justin*, *Justinian* received several into the Guards upon the same termes, paying him considerably for it, and finding his number compleat, he entertained near 2000 more, and called them Supernumeraries, but he cashiered them as soon as he came himself to the Throne, without any reimbursment. But the best of his Exploits was, That pretending a designe to send Armies into *Persia* and *Affrick* and *Italy*, he gave orders for 3500 of the oldest Souldiers to be picked out and prepared for that Expedition as persons of more then ordinary experience, when to speak truth they were utterly unfit for the Warr, and had not the least thought or inclination thereunto; whereupon apprehending that journey exceedingly, they chose rather to remit their arrears to the Emperor, than to undertake the Expedition, and this was not the first time that trick had been

been practised. These troops of the Guards were often (or rather daily) exposed to the derisions and contempt of *Peter* who was *Master of the Offices*, who though he was naturally Gentle and loved not to do any man hurt, was nevertheless the last man who by his exactions and immoderate desire of Wealth, put the Emperor upon those things, and made him (as I said before) conspire the destruction of *Amalazonte* the Daughter of *Theodorick* King of the *Goths*.

There are belonging to the Emperors household, a sort of Souldiers of much higher quality than the rest, who buying their places at a dearer rate have better pay than any of their Brethren. These are called his Domestick Guards, or his Protectors; They never go to the Warrs, and are never received into the Emperors Palace but according to their Ranks. Part of these were constantly in Garrison in *Constantinople*, others in *Galatia*, and others in other of the Provinces. By the same subtilty and artifice, *Justinian* constrained them not to demand of him their Arrears: But to bring all that may be said of this subject, to one point; according to antient Custom the Emperor every five years had a General Muster, so that every five years Commissaries were sent from *Constantinople* to all the Provinces, Armys and Garrisons, and gave from the Emperor a piece of Gold of five *Stateras* to every Soldier: This had been practised a long time, but for this last 32 years since *Justinian* came to the Government-

vernment, he took so little care to continue it, it is almost forgot that ever there was such a Custom. But let us now pass to his practices upon the poor Subject.

Those who are received into Office in the Emperors Household, or admitted to any degree of Magistracy in *Constantinople*, take their places lowest and are afterwards advanced, as any of those above them dye, or retire, and that course they continue till they come at the highest. For such persons, by antient Institution there was established a Fund of above 10000 *Livers* of Gold every year, to the end that having a comfortable and honorable subsistence for themselves when they grow aged, they might be able in some measure to give reliefe to other people: which indeed was a very good thing, to oblige the Officers, and encourage them to acquit themselves handsomly of their employments in the administration of publick affairs. But this unmerciful Prince having retrenched all their pensions, and taken from them all means to subsist, ruined not only them, but many others besides: for as we cannot but be the better for some peoples plenty, so we must needs suffer damage when they are undone, in whose plenty we shared. In short, he that will compute the retrenchments which he upon them and other people during the thirty two years of his Reign, will find the summs to be vast which he brought into his Exchequer. And this was the Course this great Tyrant observed to ruin and vex the Souldiers

Soldiers, the Officers, the Officers of his household, and the Magistrates: I shall now mention his deportment with the Merchants, Mariners, Mechanicks, and all that kept Shop in *Constantinople*, and in a word his universal injustice to all people.

There are two Streights not far from *Constantinople*, one in the *Helespont* betwixt *Sestos* and *Abydos*, the other at the mouth of the *Euxine* Sea not far from the famous Church of our Lady. In the Streight upon the *Helespont* there was never any Custom-house, or Office, or Partisans, or Publicans, but a Person was established by the Emperor at *Abydos* who had the charge of Surveying all Goods and Armes that were transported, and to see that nothing of that nature should be carried from *Constantinople* but by the Emperours permission, nor any Vessel suffered to pass without a Ticket from the Magistrates appointed to that purpose: For no ship was allowed to go out, but by leave from the Commissary or Secretary to the Master of the Offices, and what *Pretor* exacted of the Masters of the Ships under the title of Duties, was so inconsiderable, no body regarded it. To the other Streight a *Pretor* was sent likewise, whose business was the same, that is to say, to take care that no body transported to the barbarous Nations any Merchandize or Effects which were forbidden to be Exported out of the Empire; but with this Caution, That he should not exact any Duties either from the Merchant or master of the Ship. But from the time *Justinian* had the manage-

ment of Affairs, he established both in one place and the other Officers of his customes and two *Pretors* to whom he gave a certain Salary by the year upon condition they would apply their utmost endeavor to draw as much money from those duties as was possible. These Mercenary Officers who had no greater desire, than to demonstrate to the Emperor their Zeal and affection to his service, screwed and ravished from the Mariners by violence, illegal and unaccustomed Gabels upon all sorts of Commodities. And at this rate were things managed in those Streights; But for the part of *Constantinople* he gave the charge of that to one of his Court a great favorite called *Addens* born in *Syria*, with Order to take Duties of all Vessels whatever, whether outward or inward bound. This *Addens* to satisfy the insatiable Avarice of his Master, when the Ships had been a certain time in the Harbor, obliged the Masters to pay money for their exemption, or else he would lade their Ships with Commodities to be transported into *Africk* or *Italy*; Insomuch that many people unable to endure those injuries and oppressions, nor the great Expenses they were necessitated to be at in their Navigation, burned their Ships and fled, choosing rather to loose all at once, than to be hourly exposed to the Cares and miseries of their condition. But others who were forced to continue their Trade for subsistence, would not let their Ships to the Merchants under three times the rate as formerly, and then the Merchant

being enforced to sell accordingly, to reimburse himself of what he was out; by these unlucky projects, *Justinian* found out a way to ruin all the Subjects which he had: and this was the face of affairs in those kind of things; But I think my self bound in this place to give a description of the Courses which *Justinian* and *Theodora* made use of to raise profit out of the Moneys. The Officers of the Mint used to make a certain coin of Gold of the value of two hundred and ten *Obolas*, which they called *Pholes*. *Justinian* to make his advantage, caused them to be melted down, and new ones to be Coined, weighing but 180. so that he got a sixth part out of every piece to the great prejudice of his Subjects. Moreover having settled imposts upon all Merchandize (which could not be done without vast detriment to the Buyers) there was nothing exempt but Cloaths, which were not liable to Customs; but *Justinian* and *Theodora* found out a way to draw money out of them as well as the rest.

Formerly the Workmen and Merchants of Silk Stuffs, had their Factorys in *Beryte*, and *Tyre*, two Townes in *Phanicia*, where they settled their Trade, and from whence afterwards it was propagated quite through the World: but in the Reign of *Justinian* those who lived in *Constantinople*, and other Towns under the Roman Dominion, raised the prices of their Silks, pretending they were dearer in *Persia*, besides the Duties which were required and exacted

acted at the entrance into the Empire. It was known not long after that the Emperor was accessary, for he put forth an Edict prohibiting any to sell under Eight gold pieces a pound of Silk, with confiscation of Goods, and loss of Estate to any that should disobey: This appearing altogether unreasonable to the Merchant, who could not afford his Commodities which cost him much dearer at the usual rate, he chose rather to give over and trade no more: Whereupon several of them gave away (secretly) all the remainder of their Wares, to such of their friends as delighted in such unnecessary expences, and loved to appear glorious in the World, or to such as had any other occasion for them: but as privately as they carried it, a rumor was spread abroad, no body knew from whence, which coming to the Ears of *Theodorus*, he fined the Merchants an hundred pound in Gold, and seized upon their Silks into the bargain. At present there is none but the grand Treasurer who can licence that Manufactory, in which *Perzanes* who had that Office was permitted to play a thousand juggling tricks: In effect, he took the Workmen to himself, constrained them to work only for him, and would not suffer them to deal with any body else; besides he sold publickly in the Warehouse which he had set up, an ounce of any coloured Silk for six pieces of Gold, but if it were in Grain, or the Colour Royal which they called *Holovere*; he sold it for four and twentys so that by these unconscionable wayes he raised

vast

vast Summes of Money for the Emperor, besides his own ships, which he kept very private, and were supposed as considerable as the other, and this trade he drives to this day, with prohibition to every body else: For this cause the Merchants both in *Constantinople* and other Citys resented highly their usage, and the loss which they sustained by the ruin of their Workmen: And for as much as in *Tyre*, and *Beryte* most of the popular subsisted by that sort of Manufactory, they were brought to a necessity of begging the charity of good people, or starving with hunger and misery. And those few who escaped, quitted their own Countrey, and fled among the *Parthians*, for (as I said before) none but the Treasurer-General of the Empire was permitted to meddle in that commodity, and he returning a small part of his gains to the Emperor, kept the greatest to himself, raising a prodigious estate out of the ruins of the people, and his happiness, out of the Calamities of the State, but enough of this, I shall now proceed, and give an account how he despoiled *Constantinople*, and the other Towns of all their Ornaments. His first designe was against the Lawyers, whom he resolved utterly to undo, lessening their fees, and forbidding gratuities, though after the Cause was determined, which were commonly very considerable: In all Suits that were depending he caused decision to be made by oath, which rendred the Lawyers useles and contemptible, to their great prejudice and displeasure:

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Moreover,

Moreover, from the time in which *Justinian* made bold with the Senators, and seized upon their Estates, and other great Citizens in *Constantinople*, which were as Wealthy as they, the Advocates and Lawyrs were become very inconsiderable, as not having Work for any one Hearing; so that they whose number and esteem was formerly very great, were now grown but few; and they not only despised by all the World, but destitute of all Necessaries, having nothing left them, but their old Institution to distinguish them from other people. Nor was *Justinians* Malice peculiar to the Lawyrs; the same kind of Severity he used upon the Physicians, and all other Professors of Learning, retrenching their Fees, and taking away their Pensions, which had been given by the Primitive Emperors, and paid constantly. As to the Revenue of every Town, which had been given by their Predecessors, for Exhibition of publick shows, or supplying publick Necessities, he made no Bones to ingross them to himself, by which means the Physicians, and other Learned Professors, lost their subsistence. No publick Buildings were Erected, no Lights in the Night for the convenience of Passengers; No Feasting; nor rejoycing among the Citizens; baiting of wild Beasts, Comedies, and the pastimes of the *Cyrens*, were layd aside along time by *Justinian*, whose Wife had been bred and advanced from those very Theaters which he destroyed; at length when he had put down these shews in all the other Cities, he suppressed them

them in *Constantinople*, and all to save the Money which he was thereby necessitated annually to disburse, without the least regard or consideration, that he would starve an infinite number of poor people, whose subsistence depended wholly upon those kind of things. So that in a manner the whole world was valu'd in, and depressed with extream sadness, as well publick Societies, as particular persons, every Man passing his time without any Diversion, and groaning under his Misfortune, as heavy and immoveable. To be short, their Discourse and Communication at home, in the Streets, in the Churches and every where, was nothing but of the Miseries, the Calamities of that age, and the sad and deplorable condition of their present Affairs; and this was the manner in which he Treated the Cities: but now it is necessary I say something of what followed, and so compleat this History.

It was a Custom to create every year two Consuls, one at *Rome*, the other at *Constantinople*; whoever was advanced to that Dignity, was obliged at his Entrance, to an Expence of two thousand pound in Gold, a small part of it was generally his own Money, but the greatest part was from the liberality of the Prince; and this Money which the Consuls commonly imploy'd in Presents, that were to be given upon their admission, or to the poor, or in Gifts to the Comedians, was of great Relief to those Cities, and helped well towards the subsistence of the people. But since *Justinian* came to the

Empire, no certain time was kept for the Election of the said Consuls, the same persons being continued several years, and no Assemblies allowed for the Creation of new, so that all people were fallen into extream Misery, the Emperor not only retained in his own hand what was wont to be distributed among his Subjects, but robb'd and dispossessed them of what they had of their own, in all places, and by all ways imaginable! I suppose I have said enough of the Violences which he used in his administration of the publick Moneys, as also when he sequestred the Estates of the whole Senate, and every particular Member therein, (with which he cramm'd his own Coffers, but could not satiate his Mind) as likewise in the descriptions of the Arts and Calumnies which he used to get the Estates of all rich Men into his hands, his Tyranny, and the sad effects of it, upon the Emperors Guards, and other Domesticks; his cruelty to the Common Souldiers of his Army, and of his particular Guards; To the Inhabitants of the Country; To the Proprietors of the Land; To the Professors of Sciences, Merchants, Masters of Ships, Seamen, Carriers, Messengers, Mechanicks, Comedians, Lawyers, Officers of Justice of all sorts, and in a word to all those who were Expos'd and sensible of the misery above mentioned, and to those who could not be happy when the other were miserable. But now I must speak of his Inhumanity to the Poor, and inferiour sort of people, whom he reduc'd to the greatest de-

gree

gree of Indigence imaginable, and after that I shall relate how he behaved himself towards the Priests.

Justinian (as I said before) had ingrossed and impropriated all the old Duties upon Commodities, and layd new upon every thing, not exempting such as were necessary for subsistence, by which he got a third part of what ever was sold by his Subjects: But I will not go about to make a particular Enumeration of all the Injuries that I have seen; it would amount to an incredible business; I shall only say, he layd a grievous Tax upon the Bread, which the Artisans, the poor, and the sick, bought every year, which by Computation amounted annually to 300 Livres of Gold, and thereby constrained those poor Creatures to sustain themselves upon very ill bread, full of dust, and scarce possible to be eaten; so far had the Excess of his Impiety transported him. In the mean time, those who had the Charge of Provisions, taking that Example, to make their own Markets, heaped up vast Riches as well as he, and by their wicked Inventions and Projects, starv'd those poor wretches, whose Misery had more need to have had some way found out, to have made things cheaper, then that they should be sold to them by their weight in Gold: For no Man was permitted to bring any Corn from other parts, and all were obliged to take their Bread of him.

The Pipes which conveyed the Water into the City being broke, the Emperor was sensible it was

was not easily to be supplied any where else , for the Baths were most of them dry , and there was not a day , but some or other were stifled in the Crowds , which thronged continually to those Fountains which were remaining ; Nevertheless , he took no notice of it , would be at no expence to repair them , but let them lie , though they were of so universal importance , and in the mean time squandred away prodigious Sums in fine , but useless and vain Buildings upon the Banks of the Sea , in the Suburbs of *Constantinople* ; as if the Palace which had been the Residence of so many great Princes his Predecessors , and had pleased them very well , had not been good enough for the Entertainment of him and his Empress . So that thereby he clearly evinc'd , it was not purely Covetousness , or desire to spare , which made him act in this manner ; but he was restrained from the repairing those Aquaducts , by an unparalleled piece of Cruelty , that would not suffer him to have the least Commiseration , for the Evils which he brought upon his Miserable Subjects : For never was there Man in the World that with more Impudence and *Effronterie* , sought out unjust ways of raising of Money , that exacted it with more Cruelty , nor spent it more profusely when he had done . Insomuch , that the poor people in the Extremity they were in , being brought to nothing but Bread , (and that of their worst sort) and Water for the Subsistence (had been in some Measure happy , if they could have held there) but they had now lost both

both of them , at least they could not so easily come at them , for the Dearness of the one , and the Scarceness of the other , the Bread by reason of the Emperors Impositions , and the Water by his Cruelty or Negligence ; Nor was this confined only to *Constantinople* , but alas , he persecuted the Poor in all places , and by all the Arts he could use , some of which I shall mention in short .

After that *Theodorick* King of the *Goths* had made himself Master of *Italy* ; to leave some marks behind him of the Ancient Dignity of this Roman Commonwealth , he permitted the *Pretorian Bands* to continue in their former condition , and ordered them the same Allowance , which by long Custom they had had every day . These Souldiers were very numerous , and comprehended under that Name , *The Troops of Silence* , the *Domesticks* , and several others . Though this priviledge of Conservation could not make them rich , yet by that means they remained still as Souldiers upon the Rolls , and had a comfortable subsistence thereby , though what they received , was scarce sufficient alone ; and besides this , *Theodorick* condescended , that their Children , and Grandchildren should inherit their Estates . To the poor , who were retired about the Churches of *St. Peter* , he ordered a yearly Distribution of 3000 Vessels of Corn , to be paid out of the publick Stores . These Gifts were continued both to the one and the other , till the arrival of *Alexander Forsicula* in *Italy* , who quickly abolished those good

good Customs, and having sent word thereof to *Justinian* the Emperor, he expressed his approbation, by the many Acts of Grace which he conferred upon the said *Alexander*, who plaid another unlucky prank with the Inhabitants of *Helene*, in his Voyage into *Italy*. The people of the Country about *Thermopyles*, had always had the keeping of that Pass, and at the time of *Alexander's* Expedition into those parts, being apprehensive lest the *Barbarians* should make an Inroad into *Peloponessus*, the Peasants kept Guard by Turns, in the place of the Mountains where they were most likely to pass. *Alexander* being arrived, pretended he did not think it safe to trust so considerable a Pass, to the Defence of the Countrey people, and as if his Design had been nothing but the preservation of *Peloponessus*, he left there 10000 Men, which were paid not out of the Coffers of the Emperor, but at the charge of the Neighbouring Towns, in the Province of *Hellade*, by which means he annexed to the Emperors Revenue, what ever had been formerly given to the said Towns, for the Building or repairing publick Structures, or the Expense of their shews, under pretence of employing it for the payment of those Souldiers, which were of so great importance for the preservation of that Country, so that from that time, neither in the Province of *Hellade*, nor in *Athens* it self, could any Buildings be erected or repaired, any shows exhibited, or any other thing promoted for the benefit of those Towns, at the Charge of the publick,

lick, all that *Forticula* did, being positively confirmed. We will now speak of the Calamities which were suffered by the poor *Alexandrians*.

There was in *Alexandria* one *Ephesus*, an Advocate by profession, who being advanced to the Supream Magistracy in that Town, appeased all the Tumults and Factions that arose in it: But he himself was more pernicious to the Citizens, then the greatest Sedition that could have been, for he reduced them to an extremity of Distress.

In short, having appointed Offices for all Commodities, which he had forbidden other Merchants to sell, reserving them wholly for himself, he sold all things at his own rates, and put great prices upon them, which the Authority of his Office would make good. Hereupon the people wanted the necessaries of life, not being able to supply themselves with such things as were to be bought at an easie and indifferent rate, before *Ephesus* was made Governor: For having ingrossed all the Corn that came out of *Egypt*, not permitting any man to buy so much as one bushel, he put what price upon it he pleased; so that, in a short time, having acquired a vast wealth himself, he endeavored likewise to content the insatiable avarice of the Emperor: And the people of *Alexandria* endured all this ill treatment without complaint, for fear of provoking their Governor to use them worse: And the Emperor taking singular delight to see Money flowing into his Exchequer

from

from those parts, took a particular kindness and affection to *Ephesus*, whilst he, to continue and advance it, did as I shall relate.

The Emperor *Dioclesian* had ordained a yearly distribution of Corn to the poor of *Alexandria*, which from that very time was constantly observed, the poor having received it, in those times, and left it afterwards to their posterity. But *Ephesus* stopped this distribution, and caused two thousand Barrels of Corn (which was the usual quantity to be disposed among the people) to be secured in the Emperors Granaries, pretending, That the *Alexandrines* had enjoyed it by Usurpation, and contrary to all Justice, and the interest of the State. The Emperor approved what he had done, confirmed it by Proclamation, and had a higher esteem for *Ephesus* then before, whilst the poor people of that City, whose hopes of livelihood depended much upon so considerable a relief, was by this unparalleld cruelty reduced to the greatest extremity; and they were the more sensible of it, because it fell out at a time when there was great scarcity in *Egypt*. But *Justinian* committed so many cruelties of this nature, it would tire any man to number them: Wherefore I shall only select out of that vast number, some few which I conceive will be sufficient to convince posterity of his fraud, hypocrisy, contempt of God, his Priests, and his Laws, how he persecuted those who were most religious and devout; and that he had neither shame nor modesty, nor care of the State, his whole thoughts being bent upon contriving

contriving plausible pretences; for his Crimes, when indeed his end was nothing but to ruine the whole World, and get their Estates.

At first, he put in one *Paul* into the Bishoprick of *Alexandria*, (at the time when *Rhodon*, a *Phenician*, was Governor) to whom he writ to execute what ever *Paul* recommended to him, and to be sure to assist him; for by his industry he hoped to oblige all the chief persons in that City, and prevail with them to stand for the Council of *Chalcedon*. There was at that time a native of *Palestine*, called *Arsenius*, the wickedest man alive, who having made himself necessary to the Empress, by the management of her intrigues, had got a vast estate, and with it, great credit and authority. This miscreant was of the same Religion with the *Samaritans*, but he had always pretended to be a Christian, and his Father and Brother dissimbling the same Faith, being supported by his interest, and acted by his devilish persuasions, they brought a thousand miseries upon the Christians of *Scythopolis* where they lived: Whereupon the Citizens revolted, and put them to death, after they had punished them severely, which was the occasion afterwards of much mischief to *Palestine*; for as to *Arsenius* (though he was really the Author of those troubles) the Emperor inflicted no other punishment upon him, but to forbid him the Court, and that he did only to satisfy the Christians who were very importunate against him.

Arsenius

Arsenius being banished the Court, conceiving he should do a thing very acceptable to the Emperor, went a while after with *Paul* to *Alexandria* : For during the time of his absence from the Court, he pretended to have instructed himself in all the Niceties and Criticisms of the Christian Faith ; but instead of succeeding in his design, he fell into *Theodora's* displeasure, who seemed to act in that affair by motives altogether opposite to the Emperors.

When *Paul* was arrived at *Alexandria*, and settled there, he caused the Deacon *Psoes* to be seized, and delivered into the hands of *Rhodon* (the Governor of the City) to be put to death, objecting, That he was the only man who opposed his designs, and obstructed the execution of the Emperors orders. *Rhodon* had Letters continually from the Emperor, pressing him to do whatever *Paul* should desire ; wherefore he caused *Psoes* to be whipped, and *Psoes* being an infirm man, died under the correction. The news of his death being brought to the Court, by the instigation of *Theodora* (who with her prayers and persuasions, never let him rest.) *Justinian* expressed great indignation against *Paul*, *Rhodon*, and *Arsenius*, as if he had forgot the orders which he had given them. He gave the Government of *Alexandria*, to a Roman of a *Patrician* family, called *Liberius*, and made choice of several Bishops of approved integrity, to go and examine the business upon the place ; in which number, one was *Pelagius*, Archdeacon of the Roman Church, whom the Pope *Vigilius*

gillus had sent as his Agent, to act as effectually, as if he had been there himself.

Paul being convicted of homicide, was turned out of his Bishoprick, *Rhodon* having fled to *Constantinople*, and falling into the hands of *Justinian* was put to death, and his estate confiscated, though in his own justification he produced six of the Emperors own Letters, commanding his positive obedience in what ever *Paul* should order ; and to give him liberty to do what he pleased in Matters of Religion. *Arsenius* was put upon the Cross by *Liberius*, according to directions which he received from *Theodora*, and his estate confiscated ; and all upon no other pretence, but his friendship for *Paul*.

I will not trouble my self so far as to dispute, Whether this was done justly, or otherwise ; but I shall tell upon what grounds I inserted this passage.

Not long after *Paul* came to *Constantinople*, to endeavor by the offer of 300 Livres in Gold, to prevail with the Emperor to be restored to his Bishoprick, having been (as he pretended) unjustly dispossessed. *Justinian* took his Money, treated him with as much honor and respect as was possible, and promising to restore him with the first opportunity, though at the same time another was in possession ; and the said *Justinian* had caused two of the Bishops best friends to be put to death, and confiscated their estates. The Emperor pretended to desire it much, and no body made the least question, but *Paul* would

he restored; but Pope *Vigilius*, who was at the same time in *Constantinople*, would not consent; not enduring that they should act contrary to the sentence which *Pelagius* had given in his name: So that in all his affairs, *Justinians* chief designs was getting of Money, by what means was possible to gain it. I am now writing of a History to the same purpose, which hath some Analogy with the former.

There was in *Palestine* a Man called *Fauslinus*, of *Jewish* extraction, having been born and bred by his Parents in that Religion; but for security sake, had taken upon him the name of a Christian. This person being chosen a Senator, came at length to be Governor of *Palestine*; but when the time of his Office was expired, he was accused at *Constantinople* by the Priests, for pretending to be a Christian, when he was really a Jew, and for having committed several cruelties against the Christians, during his Government. Upon this information *Justinian* was transported into the highest passion imaginable; holding himself affronted in his person, in that any one durst be so audacious in his Reign, to condemn the name of a Christian. The cause being brought before the Senate, upon the instance of the Emperor, *Fauslinus* was condemned to be banished the Empire. but having by degrees, and by a good round sum of Money, mollified the Emperor, he caused execution of the Senates Dower to be suspended, and restored him to his employment with as much Authority as before; after which,

which, his credit was so great with the Emperor, he had the management of the Imperial Demesns in *Phenicia* and *Palestine*, and disposed of them with full liberty.

I shall say no more of this business, but these two examples are sufficient to discover how *Justinian* delighted himself in perverting all the orders established among the Christians; and for the Laws which he abolished for Money, I shall speak of them in very few words.

In *Emesus* there was a Person called *Priscus*, exceedingly dexterous at counterfeiting of Seals; in which art he was the most expert Man in the World. Many years before *Mamianus* (who had been a Senator, and of no less eminence for his great birth, then his prodigious riches) had given all his estate by Will to the Church of *Emesus*.

In process of time, under the Reign of *Justinian* the Emperor, *Priscus* made a Catalogue of the best Families of that Town, which were in greatest reputation for wealth, and from whom he might hope for the most considerable booty. He observed accurately the pedigrees of those who were the chief, and having found the names of such of their Ancestors as were contemporary with *Mamianus*, he counterfeited several Receipts and Recognisances under their names, by which they confessed themselves indebted to *Mamianus* in very great sums; by which kind of forgeries he made a shift among several of them to pretend to 10000 Livres of Gold. In short, having imitated very neatly the hand of

the Notary, who drew up the Writings, signed them in *Mamians* days, and was a Man of known honesty, and vertue; he put his Papers into the hands of those who managed the affairs of the Church of *Emesus*, upon condition he should go snips, and have such a share of the Money as should be agreed off betwixt themselves: But there being a Law in force, expressly contrary to their design, because it reduced all Processes to the Prescription of thirty years, unless in Cases of Mortgage; and several others where the Prescriptions were to extend but to forty years; they concluded to go to *Constantinople*, and give a round sum to the Emperor, to favor them in their pernicious design of ruining their Fellow Citizens.

Being arrived at his Court, they did as they had resolved, and the Emperor having got his Money, put forth a Decree, by which he required, That affairs which related any way to the Church, should not be restrained to the ordinary Prescription, but that any thing might be recovered, if claimed within a hundred years; and this he commanded should be observed quite thorow the *Roman* Empire, but more particularly in the City of *Emesus*; and not long after he sent *Longinus* thither, a high spirited, and exceeding strong man, whom he made Governor of that City, on purpose to see that new Ordinance put in execution. At first, the Officers of the Church of *Emesus*, having prosecuted some of their Fellow Citizens upon their pretended obligations, for a sum of Two hundred

Livers

Livers in Gold, they were condemned to pay it, the poor men not being able to rake out of the darkness of Antiquity any objection that might defend them. This put the whole Town of *Emesus* in strange consternation, especially the principal Citizens, who were more highly enraged against their Accusers, because the danger was directed more particularly against them. But when all the Inhabitants of that Town were ready to be involved in this common ruine, God Almighty prevented it in his mercy. One day *Longinus* having ordered *Priscus* (the Author of this detestable invention) to bring him all his Claims, that he might see how they were grounded; observing him unwilling, and to make more difficulty then was necessary, he grew angry, and in his passion, gave him a Box on the Ear, as hard as he could strike. The wretch fwoounded with the stroke (which came unexpectedly, and from the strongest Man in the World) fell backward upon the ground; and apprehending *Longinus* had had some light of his forgery, he confessed the whole business, whereby all being discovered, the Suits which were commenced were stopped, and all their Processes ceased.

Justinian was not contented to subvert the Laws of the Empire every day, but he must interfere with the *Jews*, and abolish such of theirs, as were the very Fundamentals of their Religion. In a word, if *Easter* fell out sooner in their Kalendar, then the Christians (which might very well happen, because their ways of com-

putation were several) he would not suffer them to make their solemnities on their own usual day, nor to exercise such offices of Devotion, as their Religion required. The Magistrate likewise fined several of them, upon an information, That they had eaten the Paschal Lamb, as a thing contrary to the Laws of that State.

I know a thousand Crimes of this nature, which I could charge upon *Justinian*, but I pass them over in silence, because it is time to finish my History which is already too long, and I think has sufficiently discovered the temper of that Tyrant : Nevertheless, I shall add two words to show his Falshood and Hypocrisy.

He turned *Liberius* (of whom I have spoke before) out of his Government, and put an *Egyptian* called *Laxarion* into his place ; which coming to the ears of *Pelagius* the Pope, who was a great friend to *Liberius*, he went to *Justinian* to know, if what was reported of *Laxarion*, was true. *Justinian* denied there was any such thing, and to convince his Holiness, that he had no intention to remove *Liberius*, he put into his Holiness his hand a new Commission, confirming the said *Liberius* in his Government, and requiring him not to quit it, without new orders from him. There was at that time in *Constantinople*, an Uncle of *Johns* called *Eudemus*, a rich man, who had been Consul, and had then the charge of the Emperors Demesns. This *Eudemus* having heard what had passed betwixt the Emperor, and the Pope, went to the

the Emperor to inform himself, whether his Nephew was turned out of his Government, or not. The Emperor taking no notice to *Eudemus* of the Commission which he had delivered for *Liberius* to the Pope, gave *Eudemus* another, to put his Nephew *Laxarion* into the said Government, and declaring, That he did still retain the same good will towards him, that he had always expressed.

John believing himself safe under the Authority of his Commission, sent to require *Liberius* to remove out of the Governors Palace, as having to do there no farther : *Liberius* refused it, and to justify himself, produced the Emperors Patents. *John* seeing he would not obey, caused his friends to take Arms, and try to remove him by force ; *Liberius* defended himself with his Guards, and the conflict was so bloody, that several persons were slain, and *Laxarion* among the rest. *Eudemus* followed the business very close afterwards, and upon his solicitation, *Liberius* was sent for to *Constantinople* ; where being heard before the Senate, he was acquitted of the murder, as done in his own defence. Nevertheless, *Justinian* would not let him escape so, but forced him to give him a good sum of Money, before he could be quiet. By this we may see an instance of the friendship which *Justinian* bare to the truth, and of the great care he took, never to offend against it. I shall now make (and I suppose not impertinently) a little digression in this place, and insert it by way of addition to my Book.

Eudemon, whom I mentioned but now, died not long after, without either Children or Will, but his heirs general were numerous. About the same time, the chief Eunuch of the Court called *Euphratas*, died likewise without disposing of any thing of the great riches which he possessed, because he left a Sisters Son, who was in Law to be his heir: But the Emperor got both their estates into his hands, giving only a third part to their heirs; and that was the way he expressed his tenderness for the Laws, and his moderation to the Children of those Persons, who had been his great Favorites whilst they were living. He seized likewise all the estate of *Ireneus*, who had been dead a long time without any right, or so much as reasonable pretence. And there was another thing hapned about this time, which I cannot omit.

There was at *Ascalone*, a person called *Anatolius*, without contradiction the chief Man in the Senate of that Town, whose only Daughter, *Mammilianus* (who was of the same quality in *Cesaria*) had married, and by her had the inheritance of his estate. There was an antient Law, by which it was provided, That whenever a Senator died without Issue-male, the fourth part of his estate should go to the use of the Senate, and the rest to the heirs at Law. In this case also, *Justinian* gave great testimony of his good nature; for he decreed, That for the future, when any Senator died without Issue-male, the Custom should be inverted, the fourth part only descending to the heirs, and the three other

other parts to go to the use of the Senate, or to the Coffers of the Emperor, though in no time it had been known, That the estate of any Senator had been confiscated, or sequestered to the use of the Publick, or for the Purse of the Emperor.

After the publication of this Ordinance, *Anatolius* died, and his Daughter was preparing to divide her Inheritance with the Emperor and the Senate; when she received a Letter from each of them, importing a remission of what belonged to them: Not long after, *Mammilian* died also, leaving only one Daughter, who being married to a person of quality, died without issue, during the life of her Mother. On a sudden, *Justinian* seized upon all, pretending (forsooth) That it was not fit the Daughter of *Anatolius*, at that age, should be suffered to be rich, by two ways at once, that is, by her Patrimony from her Father, and her estate by her Husband: But to keep her from want, he granted her an allowance of one *Statera* of Gold a day, to continue whilst she lived; and in the Grant which he gave her, there were these following words. *We have ordered her a Statera of Gold, only in Charity; for we have been accustomed by our Actions to give constant marks of our virtuous inclinations.* But enough of this subject, I fear the length of my Book would dissatisfie, should I write any farther, though indeed I think it a hard matter for the memory of one man to retain all; yet I cannot but add, That he considered nothing at all when Money

Money was in the case ; and this appeared by his comportment with the *Venetes* ; which faction had always stood for him, and he had ever professed himself as cordially for it.

He made choice of *Malthines*, Son in Law to *Leo*, the Referendary, and a *Cilician*, as he was, to send into that Countrey to appease the Seditions which had some times since been raised in those parts. This new Governor finding the power in his own hands, used several of the *Cilicians* very ill, caused them to suffer a thousand indignities, and of the Money which he extorted unjustly from that Province ; part he transported into the Emperors Coffers, and the rest he kept himself to augment the great riches which he had gotten before. Some there were who swallowed their grievances without any complaint ; but those of the faction of the *Venetes* who were in *Tarsis*, seeing themselves supported by their reputation and interest with the Empress, complained publickly of the proceedings of *Malthines*, who was not then there to defend himself. The news of it coming to his ears, he got his Troops together, and marching to *Tarsis* in the night, by break of day he caused them to enter into the houses, with orders to spare nobody. The *Venetes* supposing the Town was surpris'd by the Enemy, took Arms and stood upon their guard: Several Charges and Engagements hapned in the Town ; in one of which, *Damianus* the Senator, who was cheif of the party of the *Venetes* in *Tarsis*, was slain with an Arrow.

This

This news arriving at *Constantinople*, the *Venetes* began to assemble in the streets, and to murmur highly at their usage ; they complained to the Emperor, of the violences which had been exercised against their Brethren, and threatned to revenge themselves upon *Leo* and *Malthines*. But *Leo* by a magnificent present, prevented the execution of the Order which *Justinian* had passed, and abated so much of the ardor which he had always shown for that faction, that the Process was stopped ; and when *Malthines* came to Court a while after, the Emperor received him very honorably, and treated him as kindly as he could wish : But the *Venetes* enraged, having set upon him as he was passing from the Emperors apartment, wounded him severely, and had certainly killed him, had not some of their own party, whom *Leo* had corrupted with his Money, preserved him.

Is there any man living, that thinks not that State in an unhappy condition, where the Prince suffering himself to be bribed and corrupted with Money, leaves offences unpunished ; and where the Malecontents are so audacious as to attempt a Magistrate in the Palace, and before the eyes of their Emperor ? In short, *Malthines* and his assassins remained equally unpunished, which may easily insinuate the temper of *Justinian* : Yet for further eviſtion, and to show how much he applied himself to the good of the Commonwealth, I shall only add his behavior towards the Posts and the Spies.

The

The Emperors which had Reigned before him, had Established ways of Intelligence, for the speedier understanding the Motions and Attempts of their Enemies upon the Frontiers, and particularly they had settled a Correspondency in every City and Village in those Provinces, that thereby they might be advertised of any Sedition or other accident that might happen; as also of the Deportment of their Governors and Lieutenant Generals; and for the safer and more speedy Conveyance of such sums of Money, as should be raised in the Provinces more immediately under the Jurisdiction of the Empire, or in such as were only tributary: To this purpose in every days journey, they had settled a Man who was to Post Eight Stages a day, but in some places their Stages were not so many, though five were the fewest. In these several Stages, there were about forty layd Horses, and a just proportion of Grooms: Those therefore who had any important Affairs, made use of this way, and by frequent change of Horses, which were always in Breath, they would make as much way easily in one day, as in ten any other way. This was not only convenient to such as had business of importance, but was likewise of great advantage to those whose Lands lay in the middle of the Provinces, and yielded them a considerable Revenue, by giving them opportunity of putting off their Grain and other Commodities, to such as had the Charge of those Horses, and were to provide for the Passen-

gers;

gers; These Post Masters likewise conveying into the Emperors Treasurie, the Moneys which were returned, had the liberty to disburse what Wages was due to them for their pains; so that all was very well ordered for the good of the State, and this was the Method which had been Established of old. But *Justinian* having ruined the Post betwixt *Calcedonia* and *Dacibile*, all who had business that way, were constrained to pass betwixt *Constantinople* and *Helenopolis*, in the little Boats, which were used before only to waft them over the *Streight*, whereby they were perpetually obnoxious to the Tempests which are very frequent in that passage, for when a Man is pressed by the Necessity of his Affairs, he stands not to consider whether it be fair or foul, or what danger there is of the Weather. The Road to *Persia*, *Justinian* left as he found it established, but for all the rest, either into the East or *Egypt*, in every days journey, he would not suffer those stables of Horses to be continued for the convenience of Travellers, but the passage was made upon Asses, and those very few: By which means it came to pass, that Advertisements were very slow from the Provinces, and most commonly too late for any Remedy to be applyed: Those whose Estates lay upon the Roads, were exceedingly impoverished, having no vent nor utterance for their Commodities; and so much for the Messengers or Posts: I shall speak now of the Spyes. There were great numbers of them

them entertained by the State, who under pretence of Trading, or some other Invention, went every day among the Enemies, and some of them into the very Court of the King of *Persia*, where having discovered the Intrigues of the *Barbarians*, they returned with all diligence, to make Report to the Emperors, who thereby had time not only to foresee, but to prevent most of their Designs, as having Advertisement a long time before. 'Tis now many years since, the *Persians* have taken this Custome from us, but *Cosroes* made better use of it, then any of his Predecessors, having given more then ordinary Wages to his Spyes, and great and magnificent Rewards, when any thing did happily succeed, never employing any that was born a Subject of *Rome*. But *Justinian* having cut off this Intercourse, was the occasion of very great Losses, and particularly of the Country of the *Lazians*, which was Conquered by the Enemy, because *Justinian* could never get Intelligence of the place, against which the King of the *Persians* designed. It had been likewise a Custome of old, to keep a great number of Cammels, at the Charges of the State, which were to follow the Army upon its March in time of War, to carry the Baggage, that the Country people might not be disturbed in their Business, and that nothing might be wanting to the Souldiers: But *Justinian* Retrenched them likewise for the greatest part, so that at present when one has any occasion more then ordinary,

and

and desires to make more then ordinary Expedition, he wants every thing that is necessary, as having no convenience to carry his Baggage: And this was the great care he took of things which were of the greatest consequence for the Conservation of the State; and to which, he ought to have applied himself with particular diligence. Though this that has been said, has been sufficient, I cannot contain from adding another story of him, which in my judgment is very ridiculous.

There was in *Cesarea* an Advocate called *Evangelus*, who having had very good fortune, was grown so rich, that he bought for Three hundred Livers of Gold, a great Town called *Porphyrian*, which is scituate upon the Sea-shore. The news of his purchase being brought to *Justinian*, he took it from him, returning but a very inconsiderable part of what it cost, and alledging only, That it was not a decent thing to see so great, and so beautiful a Town in the hands of such a Lawyer as *Evangelus*. But enough of this subject, what remains to be spoken of, is only of some things which were innovated by *Justinian* and *Theodora*.

When the Senators went to salute the Emperor, they did it as follows. Every one who was of a *Patrician* family, kissed the Emperors right Check, when he came in, and when he went out the Emperor kissed his Head: All the rest that were of inferior rank, retired after they had clapped their right knee upon the ground;

and

... mortal as we (as) when he has ruined and
... every thing that he has made (as)
... who are not living;
... the truth.
... But I am
... the thereby he
... his respects, he
... a condition that was little
... The cause of Justice
... and can be seen to be
... the Palace, the multitude
... to be more pressing
... and crowding to one-do and in the
... of their obedience. The
... and to have
... in their interest in their affairs, which
... a great part of the night, but
... for their
... having no other competition for all
... their alacrity and attendance, than a vain
... Others
... who were not intangled in those cares and for-
... had yet their nobles to think what
... was become of all the Treasures and riches
... Some said the King was
... among them, others that the King
... in several places, which way
... I will not speak any
... only that I will say, that when
... (for he is but a man, and
... only